PRESS, FILM AND RADIO IN THE WORLD TODAY
Series of studies published by Unesco

TELEVISION AND RURAL ADULT EDUCATION

THE TELE-CLUBS IN FRANCE

by Joffre DUMAZEDIER
assisted by A. KEDROS and B. SYLWAN

UNESCO

MADRAS INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

LIBRARY

Call Number 374.270994 J6

Accession Number 2875

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

CANCELLED

PRESS, FILM AND RADIO IN THE WORLD TODAY

This collection of studies on problems of mass communication includes the following titles :

Professional Training of Journalists by Robert W. Desmond, Chairman of the Department of Journalism, University of California.
Training for Radio by Maurice Gorham, former Director of the BBC's North American Service, Light Programme and Television Service.
Education by Radio: School Broadcasting by Roger Clausse, Director-General of the Belgian National Broadcasting Service.
The Use of Mobile Cinema and Radio Vans in Fundamental Education by Film Centre, London.
The Problem of Newsprint and other Printing Paper by the Intelligence Unit of *The Economist*, London.
Low-Cost Radio Reception by Claude Mercier, of the Engineering Department of Radiodiffusion Française.
Radio in Fundamental Education by J. Grenfell Williams, Head of the Colonial Section of the BBC.
Professional Training of Film Technicians by Jean Lods, Deputy Director of the Institute for Higher Cinematographic Studies, France.
The Entertainment Film for Juvenile Audiences by Henri Storck, Belgian film producer.
Legislation for Press, Film and Radio by F. Terrou, legal adviser for information matters to the French Government, and L. Solal.
The Film Industry in Six European Countries by Film Centre, London.
Visual Aids in Fundamental Education. Some personal experiences.
Television and Education in the United States by Charles A. Siepmann, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Communication, New York University.
The Child Audience: a report on press, film and radio for children by Philippe Bauchard.
Paper for Printing—Today and Tomorrow by the Intelligence Unit of *The Economist*, London.
Canada's Farm Radio Forum by John Nicol, Albert Shea and G. J. P. Simmins, R. Alex Sim, ed.

(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

M. I. D. S.
LIBRARY
MADRAS.

TELEVISION AND RURAL ADULT EDUCATION

The tele-clubs in France

by Joffre DUMAZEDIER
assisted by A. KEDROS and B. SYLWAN

U N E S C O
P A R I S

*Published in 1956 by the United Nations
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
19 avenue Kléber, Paris (16e)
Printed by Oberthur Rennes-Paris*

© Unesco 1956
Printed in France
MC 55 IV 18 A

Unesco's Constitution states that the Organization will " collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication ".

The present series is published as part of Unesco's programme to assist in the improvement of the use of the mass communications media. The various studies it includes cover a wide ground, but all have this in common, that their aim is to provide practical information and, in some cases, advice for those whose interests or work lie in the field of mass communication, and thus to spread knowledge of the highest standards that are being attained and the new techniques that are being evolved.

To prepare these studies, Unesco has called upon specialists throughout the world. It is recognized that some of the subjects may be controversial. The authors have been left to express their own opinions and to speak with the full authority of their own experience. Their opinions are not necessarily those of the Organization. Although they may provoke disagreement, it is felt that only beneficial results can stem from the stimulation of thought and the casting of new light on these subjects.

P R E F A C E

The word "television" usually suggests a highly industrialized society where millions of people own sets and families gather round the little screen in their drawing-room. This is the way television has spread in the United States and Great Britain over the past eight years.

But television has come in quite a different way to certain small French villages scattered over the countryside some 60 miles to the east of Paris. The movement that sprang up in these villages may serve as a guide for the development of television in the rural areas of less-industrialized countries, and for its use as an instrument both of popular culture and of fundamental education.

Gone are the days when television was found only in the few countries possessing electronic industries. Today it has spread to all continents—even to territories where fundamental education in rural areas is still an urgent problem. That is why Unesco's Member States, in planning a different approach to television, are seeking to use it for new ends.

It is hardly necessary to stress the educative potentialities of television, its fascination for the general public, and its suitability as a medium for entertainment and for the imparting of knowledge. But what can we do to ensure that television does not remain an amusement in countries where it could be used to help the whole population?

How can programmes of genuine educational value be planned and produced? These are problems for which so far only very partial solutions had been found, so that a study had to be carried out in the course of pratical experiments.

None of the underdeveloped regions was as yet equipped to be the scene of such a study. However, living conditions in the French countryside were probably such that the lessons learnt from the movement which sprang up there might well be useful to the less-favoured countries.

Unesco therefore closely followed the tele-club movement from its inception, and in 1952 made it the subject of one of its Clearing House publications.[1] *But while the movement provided valuable information as to the possibility of organizing community reception of television programmes, no attempt had yet been made to produce special programmes for tele-clubs, nor had any scientific study been made of their audiences' reactions.*

Unesco was accordingly very glad to accept the offer of the French Government and Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française to join in a project, adopted by Unesco's General Conference at its seventh session, for the production of an experimental series of educational programmes addressed to rural populations, and for the assessment of their results. In order to carry out this project, Unesco assisted in the production of 13 programmes broadcast by Télévision Française in 1954 under the general title of "Etat d'Urgence" (State of Emergency). At the same time, Unesco in agreement with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques) requested Mr. Joffre Dumazedier, research officer at this centre and president of the popular education movement Peuple et Culture, to conduct a sociological study of the tele-club movement, its members' reactions to television programmes and more especially their reactions to the "Etat d'Urgence" series.

The present report gives a full account of the progress of this experiment and the conclusions reached by the research team. Its purpose is to bring the fruits of this French experiment to governments, educators and the persons responsible for television services throughout the world who are seeking ways and means of using television for adult education in rural areas.

---

1. *Television. An experiment in community reception in French villages* (*Clearing House Series*, No. 5), August 1952.

PERSONS WHO TOOK PART IN THE EXPERIMENT

The team that produced the series of 13 telecasts "Etat d'Urgence":

Roger Louis	Producer.
Marcel Bluval	Director and chief cameraman.
Denise Billon	Script girl.
Serge Grave	Cameraman and assistant director.
Lucien Gavinet	Electrician, assistant.

The teacher-observers of the experimental tele-clubs:

Mr. Barbier	Primary school teacher at Venteuil.
Mr. Beaufort	Primary school teacher at Nogentel.
Mr. Beaufrere	Primary school teacher at Chatillon-sur-Marne.
Mr. Cagniard	Primary school teacher at Nesles-la-Montagne.
Mr. Cuvillier	Primary school teacher at Etampes-sur-Marne.
Mr. Dufour	Primary school teacher at Marais.
Mr. Just	Primary school teacher at Montfaucon.
Mr. Leroy	Primary school teacher at Villers-Cotterets.
Mr. Mizelle	Primary school teacher at St-Aubin.
Mr. Roard	Primary school teacher at Dammard.
Mr. Samson	Primary school teacher at Coudray-St-Germer.
Mr. Thireau	Primary school teacher at Boulaye-Mivoie.
Mr. Vachez	Primary school teacher at Fossoy.
Mr. Varry	Primary school teacher at Montreuil-aux-Lions.
Mr. Vagnon	Primary school teacher at Viffort.

The Research Team

The following experts—specialists in different subjects with varying university backgrounds, regularly participated with Mr. Joffre Dumazedier in the planning and assessment of the experiment:

Mrs. H. Gratiot	Research Director at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes.
Mrs. Kahan-Rabecq	Curator at the Musée Pédagogique.

Mr. Marcel MAGET	Director of the Ethnographic Laboratory at the Musée des Traditions et Arts Populaires.
Mr. BRAMS	Research Officer at the CNRS (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques).
Mrs. BROCHAY-ROSSI	Laboratoire de Psychobiologie de l'Enfant (Child Psychobiology Laboratory).
Mr. KEDROS	Laboratoire de Psychobiologie de l'Enfant.
Mr. DIEUZEIDE	Audio-Visual Centre of the Ecole Normale Supérieure de St. Cloud.
Mr. MORIN	Research Officer at the CNRS (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques).
Mr. OULIF	Director of the "Courrier des Auditeurs" (Listeners' Mail), Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française.
Mr. OVISE	Engineer in the Agricultural Engineering Department, in charge of reconstruction in the Department of the Aisne.

Secretary of the Enquiry:
Miss SYLWAN.

CONTENTS

General Introduction 17
Television as a cultural medium 17
Problems of adult education 19
A twofold experiment 21

Methodological Introduction 25
The need for a scientific assessment of the results achieved in adult education 25
A plea for a psycho-sociology of "active response", applied to the study of the impact of television . . 26
Two experiments: Seattle and Iowa State Colleges . 26
Assessment of the results of the tele-clubs' work. . 28
Field observation and experiment 29
The questionnaires 29
Experimental tele-clubs 32

PART ONE. THE TELE-CLUBS

I. The History of Tele-clubs 41
Difficulties facing the commercial and non-commercial cinema in the villages of the Aisne 41
Tele-clubs, a hopeful experiment 42
Two trial villages 44
Growth of tele-clubs 45

II. The Membership of Tele-clubs 48

III. Equipment of the Clubs 52
Premises 52
Reception equipment 54

IV. The Operation of the Clubs 55
Financial organization 55
Days and hours of reception 56
Announcement of telecasts 57
Viewers' reactions during telecasts 58
Discussions after telecasts 60

V. Importance of Tele-clubs 63
Television and cinema 63
Domestic and group television 64

VI. Conclusions 68

PART TWO. TELEVISION'S CULTURAL POSSIBILITIES IN THE LIGHT OF AUDIENCE REACTIONS

I. The Problem 73

II. Popularity of Different Programmes with Televiewers 74
Variety programmes 76
Films 77
Plays 78
Literary programmes 78
Practical programmes 79
News, outside broadcasts 79

III. Analysis of the Cultural Possibilities of the Most Popular Programmes 81
Variety programmes 83
Films 92
Plays 94
Literary and musical programmes 95
Practical programmes 95
Information and instruction 96

IV. Suggestions 98

PART THREE. "ETAT D'URGENCE": A SERIES OF 13 EXPERIMENTAL TELECASTS ON THE PROBLEM OF MODERNIZATION IN RURAL AREAS

SECTION I: THE PROGRAMMES 111

I. Background 111
1952: The first attempt 111
Origin of the "Etat d'Urgence" series of telecasts . 114

II. Principle and Planning of the Telecasts . . . 114

III. Problems of Rural Life 116
A few figures 118

IV. The Final Plan 124

V. Stages in Carrying Out the Plan 126
The production of films 126
Preparing the "live" telecasts 129

VI. Subjects of the 13 Telecasts 132

SECTION II: RESULTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES 151

I. The Problem 151

II. Before "Etat d'Urgence": Attitude of Viewers towards Modernization 152
Attitude of small farmers towards the modernization of farm equipment on an individual or collective basis. 153
Attitude of the general public towards the modernization of public and domestic equipment . . . 157

III. Variation of Interest in the 13 Telecasts . . . 169
Variations in attendance 169
Difference of viewers' opinions on the 13 telecasts . 183

IV. Effects of "Etat d'Urgence" 190
Participation in discussions 190
Themes of discussion 193
Motorization 194
Credit 195
Re-allocation of land 198
Co-operatives 198
The over-production of farm goods 200
Women in the country 201
Housing 201
Drift of young people to the towns 202
Summing-up 203
Wishes expressed by viewers 206
After "Etat d'Urgence": change in attitude towards modernization 208
Change in attitude of small farmers to the modernization of collective and individual agricultural equipment and of public and domestic equipment 209
Changes in attitude to the modernization of public and domestic equipment, classified by occupation, sex and age-group 211
New behaviour patterns 214

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS 217

NOTES ON METHODS

1. Organization of teamwork for the survey 225
2. General remarks on the use of observation and experiment in the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure 229
3. The problem of sampling 230
4. The theory of small samples and the application of Pearson's criterion to the investigation 232
5. Calculation of the positive and negative indices of programme appraisal 232

APPENDIXES

I. Description of communes in which the experimental tele-clubs are situated 235

II. Categories of population used in the field survey . 248

III. The population under survey after statistical regrouping 250

IV. Plan and guide for discussion of the different types of telecast 252

V. Tables based on questions concerning the cultural possibilities of telecasts 254

VI. Notes on the production and broadcasting of the "Etat d'Urgence" series 263

VII. Summary of reasons for indifference or opposition to modernization 266

VIII. General table showing acquisitions or improvements in domestic or public equipment regarded as desirable in the event of an increase in personal or communal income 272

LIST OF GRAPHS

1. Growth of rural tele-clubs 46
2. Programmes: percentage of those approving and disapproving; average of those approving and disapproving 78
3. Indices of approval according to occupation . . . 80
4. Indices of approval according to sex 82
5. Indices of approval according to age-group . . . 84
6. Percentage of persons with or without public installations or domestic equipment 120
7. Percentage of small farmers to whom individual or group agricultural equipment is or is not available 122
8. Before "Etat d'Urgence": attitudes of small farmers to modernization of individual or group agricultural equipment. 154
9. Attitudes of population as a whole to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment . . . 160
10. Differences in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to occupation 162
11. Differences in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to sex 164
12. Differences in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to age-groups 166
13. Variations in attendance at the 13 telecasts of the "Etat d'Urgence" series 173
14. Variations in attendance at the 13 telecasts of the "Etat d'Urgence" series, according to agricultural occupation 174
15. Variations in attendance at the 13 telecasts of the "Etat d'Urgence" series, according to non-agricultural occupation 175
16. Variations in attendance at the 13 telecasts of the "Etat d'Urgence" series, according to sex . . . 176
17. Variations in attendance at the 13 telecasts of the "Etat d'Urgence" series, according to age-group . . 177
18. Total number of persons viewing telecasts and taking part in the discussions: by occupation 192

19. Ratio between number of persons present and number of participants in the discussion, according to occupation 192
20. Variations in attitudes of small farmers, according to category of equipment 210
21. Variations in attitudes of the population as a whole to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment 212
22. Variations in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to occupation 212
23. Variations in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to sex 213
24. Variations in attitudes to modernization of public installations and domestic equipment, according to age-group. 213

General Introduction

On the evening of 7 January 1954, over 100 inhabitants of Viffort—a small French village, some 60 miles from Paris—out of a total population of 250, gathered in the little village school to "have a look at television".

Viffort is the site of a new type of adult education institution which was set up and equipped by the peasants themselves. Nogentel, Nesles, Dammard, Etampes and close on 200 villages have the same type of institution—a tele-club or association for the group reception of television programmes, which is often enough the only cultural and educational body in the village, apart from the school.

Incidentally, the television set is usually kept in the school. Most of the sets have a large screen and are purchased under a group subscription scheme by the inhabitants, who gather round on one, two or three evenings a week to view the French television programmes.

The tele-club movement started in 1950; but this particular evening, 7 January 1954, was a special occasion, as it marked the opening of a series of telecasts specifically planned for tele-clubs, prepared jointly by Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française and Unesco. At the same time, a team of teachers and sociologists, working in co-operation with the producers, were going to try to ascertain whether television could be an effective instrument of popular education.

TELEVISION AS A CULTURAL MEDIUM

Those who still look upon television as a communication medium reserved for the few countries in the forefront of economic and technological progress and who regard it, even in those countries, as a luxury only within the reach of the well-to-do, will probably be surprised to learn of Unesco's embarking on an experiment designed not only to assess the value of television as an instrument of popular

education in France, but also to produce conclusions of immediate value to the majority of its Member States.

Let us start with a few figures. Everyone knows that television has taken firm roots in the United States and Great Britain, but few people are aware how swiftly it has spread. In 1947 the United States had 33,000 sets, as against 30 million by the end of 1954. Great Britain had 14,000 in 1947 and 4 million in 1954. It is unlikely that all the countries now beginning to introduce television will advance at the same rate, and in some initial progress will probably be slow. None the less, over 60 countries in every part of the world, are today actively concerned with television, and it is already a reality in 30 of them.

Not everyone can afford a receiving set, especially in countries vith a low standard of living. But in the United States every second home has a set, and in England 65 per cent of the sets belong to people in the middle or lower income groups.[1] Even in France, where there is still little demand and a good set costs over 75,000 francs [2] probably more than half the total number of sets are owned by workers, craftsmen, clerks and junior government officials[3], and this quite apart from the growing habit of group reception, which is commonest among the poorer classes.

Not only is television tending to penetrate to all classes, but it has an extraordinary fascination for the general public. A survey conducted in an American town[4] showed that household sets were turned on for on average of 34.04 hours a week. The children go to bed later and are inclined to neglect their homework and even their outdoor games. Adults complain of being diverted from their domestic duties. Will this blind enthusiasm be a mere passing phenomenon resulting from a great discovery bordering on the miraculous ?

Many intellectuals regard television as a menace to culture, and are gloomy in their forecasts. Hardly any of them are regular televiewers, but they are as categorical as they were a few years ago on the subject of films, which

1. The BBC divides its listeners or televiewers into five classes corresponding to their income group: 5 = rich, 4 = well-to-do, 3 = average income, 2 = poor, 1 = needy.
2. Over 50 per cent of the French people earn less than 25,000 francs a month.
3. Survey of a French radio weekly conducted among 1,000 readers in 1954.
4. Colombus, Ohio.

they condemned as one long succession of mere pictures, the end of individual thought and reading, the bankruptcy of culture, and so on. Teachers are becoming alarmed. The Chancellor of the University of Chicago writes: "Under the impact of television I can contemplate a time in America when people can neither read nor write but will be no better than the forms of plant life."[1] And the Archbishop of Canterbury is reported as saying : "The cost of printing is mounting out of all knowledge, and very soon we shall become an illiterate people . . . because there will no longer be any money left to print anything for people to read . . . . It is a remarkable thing that just at this moment when, as a nation, we are in extreme financial peril, it should be thought appropriate to increase the amenities of ordinary living. Television is by way of becoming one of such amenities".[1] Such cries of alarm are heard on all sides.

There is no doubt that television has raised a new cultural problem; but this is not always approached in the right spirit. Is not the criticism levelled at television really directed against certain specific programmes and a particular form of commercial operation ? Surely television is not merely a form of entertainment that may take the place of reading and culture, but rather a new language of Aesop that can be put to the best and to the worst uses.

PROBLEMS OF ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education groups provide a meeting-ground for after work. They organize educational and cultural group entertainment. Often they are a substitute for the primary school in their campaigns against the illiteracy that still afflicts half the world's population, or they continue the work of the schools after children have left them—in most countries at the age of 14.

These associations, which sprang up at the same time as the great communication media, have from the outset endeavoured to make use of them. Audio-visual media play an important part in their work, as being an enlive-

1. Charles A. Siepmann, *Television and Education in the United States*, Paris, Unesco, 1952, p. 11-21.

ning factor which attracts a wider public. Hence it is most important for popular education to investigate all the cultural potentialities of the most recent and fascinating discovery in this field, and not to reject it outright.

Recreational associations are often run on a co-operative basis. Persons of varying means pay a subscription to obtain reductions for travel or entertainment or for the use of equipment that they could not otherwise afford, such as a tennis court, a large library or a film projector. Television sets are of course beyond the means of a great many families. In underdeveloped countries which still have leeway to make up in technical and economic development, such as India or Pakistan, group reception is even more indicated. The first question that must be asked, therefore, is whether television which at first gained popularity mainly in the home, is also suitable for adult education groups.

A second question then arises for educators. The associations described are so to speak mutual education centres, to which each brings his individual experience and ideas, a place where manual workers and intellectuals can learn to understand one another better. Joint activities where there is give-and-take and discussion are important. Can television programmes provide any impetus for such activities ? More generally, can variety, film, theatre or news programmes promote this mutual education; and, vice versa, could the cultural activities of these associations, many of them of a popular character, eventually exert some influence on television programmes ?

Faced with these problems, several governments applied to Unesco as early as 1952 for advice or assistance. An international body responsible for "uniting the peoples" and spreading "education, science and culture" could not afford to ignore these questions, but must ascertain whether so powerful a medium of communication could be used for raising the cultural level of the people, and whether this joint campaign against ignorance and mediocrity could promote greater solidarity between the nations. It is therefore understandable that the General Conference of Unesco at its seventh session, held in Paris in November 1952, should have approved a project to "organize, in collaboration with a Member State, an experiment in the use of television for adult education and in the organization of collective viewing. The use of television for educational purposes in economically underdeveloped

countries will be hampered by the inability of the population to purchase expensive receiving sets for individual viewing; the purpose of this pilot project is therefore to assess the effectiveness of collective viewing and to obtain research data on the requirements of television production for adult education programmes".

A TWOFOLD EXPERIMENT

Acting on this resolution, the French Government asked Unesco to arrange for the experiment broadly outlined above to be carried out in France. This proposal was gratefully accepted, as France seemed to fulfil all the requirements for such an undertaking. As mentioned earlier, the inhabitants of many villages in the Paris area had arranged their own group viewing of television programmes through the formation of tele-clubs. It was no mere chance that these assiciations had sprung up mainly in the country, where the need for new types of entertainment had become more pressing as countryfolk grew more aware of the greater amenities of town life. The economic and cultural conditions of the little French villages to the east of Paris reflect a way of life that is roughly the same in many other countries. Their isolation, material handicaps and financial and social problems are barriers to the modernization that is needed—a situation that is all too frequent in many regions both in and beyond Europe. The conclusions emerging from a pilot project conducted in France through these tele-clubs might therefore well serve as a guide—after the necessary adjustments—for the introduction of television into the country areas of a large number of Unesco's Member States, and be generally helpful to other countries wishing to organize similar experiments.

Co-operation between Unesco and Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française was indeed to prove most valuable. The French television authorities were already interested in the tele-club movement. In the 1952-53 period they had permitted the clubs' chief organizer, Mr. Roger Louis, to use their facilities for the production of programmes for town and country viewers, dealing with various aspects of country life ("La Vie à la Campagne"); this was a genuine experiment in adult education programmes. The French authorities were delighted at the opportunity to extend

these efforts through Unesco's assistance, which would make it possible to carry out scientific experiments. A new series of telecasts, planned jointly by Unesco and Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française and again entrusted to Mr. Roger Louis, was set on foot in the last months of 1953.

To study the effects of this experiment, Unesco recruited in France a team of specialists in the psycho-sociology of recreation, who fully appreciated the need for practical and scientific assessment of the results. At the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, work in the psycho-sociology of recreation was already markedly directed towards a study of the best means of using the main communication media for popular education.

Between 6 January and 31 March 1954 an experimental programme entitled "Etat d'Urgence" (State of Emergency), comprising a series of 13 telecasts, was given at the rate of one telecast a week—at first on Thursdays and later on Wednesdays at 9 p.m. The central theme was the modernization of work on the land, and the technical, economic, social and human conditions involved.

The psycho-sociological survey concentrated on three points: study of tele-clubs, their history, equipment, operation and importance; analysis of the cultural possibilities of the main telecasts, judging from the clubs' reactions to them; assessment of the results achieved by the "Etat d'Urgence" series in tele-clubs, with special reference to the interest which this series aroused among viewers and its effects on their attitude towards modernization.

The purpose of the present report is to set forth the findings on these three aspects of the enquiry. It is not a purely scientific paper intended for social scientists, but, first and foremost, a practical report for the benefit of all—teachers, producers and administrative staff—who are interested in the use of television for cultural purposes. It therefore had to be set out attractively, more importance being attached to the recording of results than to analysis of methods. The more technical comments have been relegated to the methodological notes and all tables to the appendixes. The results published are those which might be used by other countries; results of interest merely to French readers have been omitted. The conclusiveness of the results varies, according to the methods used. As these different methods could not be discussed at adequate

length, we at least endeavoured to differentiate results by a few explanatory notes.

The style of the report presented a problem of some difficulty, and wherever possible we have not hesitated to substitute less precise but readily understandable terms for the exact but often obscure language of the specialist. Social scientists may refer to the methodological notes and other material in the appendixes for which the strict language of psycho-sociology is employed.

The drift from the countryside—a ruined farm.

(Photo: French Ministry of Agriculture.)

In a village in the Aisne. The agricultural engineer helps to plan the investigation.

(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

Methodological Introduction

THE NEED FOR A SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENT OF THE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN ADULT EDUCATION.

The past 50 years have seen a radical change of direction in child education, and have revealed the problem of assessing results in a new light. With the traditional type of education, the effect of lessons was judged merely from examinations and competitions. But other criteria were needed for the new type of education, whose aim is not so much the increase of knowledge as the development of character. Often enough it has relied solely on a vague intuitive judgment as regards the pupils' evolution. At its best, however, it has had recourse to scientific psychology, measuring levels, comparing processes of evolution, and experimenting in methods or techniques. The science of teaching, in short, has become an "experimental" one.

Adult education long remained unaffected by these changes. Its teaching processes were undefined, its aims and methods uncertain. But it was to develop along new lines under the impetus of technological progress and labour reforms, which made recreation an increasingly important factor in the workers' lives. New problems arose from the need to provide recreation and entertainment, and to develop the personality through the acquisition of new knowledge or skills. The growing mechanization of leisure through the use of radio, films and television brought tremendous cultural possibilities within the reach of wider circles of the population, while at the same time exposing them to serious dangers. It could offer a new challenge to mind and body or, alternatively, induce an attitude of inertia. This latter danger was further aggravated by the fact that exactly the same news and ideas were offered simultaneously to millions of people.

The major objectives of adult education in our technological society were thus crystallized, whilst its responsibilities were increased. Instead of ignoring or scorning these powerful instruments—the chief source of entertainment for the mass of population—it was essential to try to combat their evil effects and promote their use in such a way that they could exert a constructive influence. It was the duty of educators to endeavour to awaken an active response in the general public by a

discriminate use of the great communication media, and by suitable treatment and commentary of the subjects.

By "active response" we mean a reaction that brings the critical faculties into play; the audience not to be content with mere passive enjoyment of a play or film but being led on to a discussion of its value. Instead of remaining mere lookers-on at sporting events, spectators should wish to engage in games and physical exercises themselves. Instead of lending only half an ear to broadcasts, listeners should take them seriously and follow them up by study of their everyday environment, by joining a study circle or through independent reading; they should draw upon the best broadcasts for instruction as to how to improve their daily lives, instead of merely escaping into an imaginary or ideal world; that they should use their sparetime occupations for developing their instinct for *action, taste for invention* and *pleasure in creation*. In short, as Georges Friedmann put it, adult education had to help develop all man's faculties by extending the practice of "active" recreation.[1]

In order to carry out so complex a task, educators had to consider ways and means, and the actual chances of success. Many of their traditional methods and techniques seemed likely to fall short of such novel and ambititious aims. Yet superficial or half-way solutions might lead to a worse state of things than that which they were intended to remedy. Adult education accordingly felt the need for a more careful assessment of its results. The rules of qualitative and quantitative observation, and if possible of experimentation, had to be applied to all its aspects, in the light of its own particular aims. Recourse had to be had to the social sciences. The psycho-sociology of "active response" had to be developed, in close relationship with experimental educational policy and methods for the organization of recreation.

A PLEA FOR A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGY OF "ACTIVE RESPONSE", APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF TELEVISION

Two Experiments: Seattle and Iowa State Colleges

Several attempts have already been made to study the results of child education through television. Although it bears on children, this research is of interest to us; for it concerns the use of leisure for cultural purposes and employs a method that is a "cross" between pedagogy and sociology, which is the right approach to the psycho-sociology of "active response". We shall give only one example, illustrating the development of the reading habit among children under the impact of television.

1. Georges Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain ?* Paris, NRF, p. 257.

"In Seattle a 13-week experimental series of telecasts, each half an hour long, was initiated over station KING-TV in December 1951. The purpose of this programme was to stimulate children to read books. Its format was designed by Gloria Chandler, long experienced in the making of recordings and transcriptions for children.

"Shown on the television screen is a group of children, their backs to the viewer, seated at the feet of a young storyteller. In her hands is a book from which she is telling the story. The backdrop is a huge open book with the inscription *Telaventure Tales . . . Once Upon a Time.* Across its pages moves Benjamin Scribble, a "non-realistic" character who serves instead of a live announcer. He is the storyteller's helper, knows all the authors and all the books.

"In the first half of the programme an episode from some recent book is related by the storyteller. A few live scenes are enacted to vary the story technique. The second half of the programme involves a game in which the television audience participates. Scenes from a number of books are presented, and the viewers are invited to write in the name of the character portrayed, the book, its author and "why I like this book".

"The immediate results were remarkable. By the second programme the Seattle Public Library and all its branches had reported that every book by the author featured on the first programme had been borrowed. The programme's influence extended into rural areas. The King County Public Library's report indicated that all the books by all the authors mentioned on this programme disappeared from the shelves of its 38 branches and two bookmobiles." [1]

This is a type of experimental research whose spirit, assumptions, methods and techniques should be applied not only to the study of children's recreation but also for that of adults.

Another experiment, which was concerned with the constructive development of the leisure time activities of rural populations, was conducted by Iowa State College in the United States of America. This university has a television station which for eleven hours a day broadcasts programmes with a constant emphasis on cultural and educational issues, for a population of roughly 600,000 persons, most of them living on the land. It also operates a centre for research on "television discussion" techniques. The most interesting experiment conducted by Iowa State College is the programme entitled "The Whole Town's Talking", intended to encourage discussion of problems which are of general interest to all communities. The participants are the people themselves. The programmes are "live" telecasts focused on problems of direct concern to a

1. The account of this experiment is taken from Charles A. Siepmann, *Television and Education in the United States*, Paris, Unesco, 1952, p. 103-4.

particular community; they are discussed by the townsfolk in front of the camera and the participants are encouraged to take a vote on the issues raised in the discussion, so as to show that talking is not enough but that some definite stand must be taken that will lead to action.

"When we entered Cambridge (a village of 600 inhabitants, which had a school problem), we found an apathetic, dispirited community, afraid to discuss its problems. In the past few weeks we have watched a ferment growing in this town. We have watched people as they began to talk about their problems in the open—for the *first time*. This talk need not, must not, end with the television programme. At this moment we do not know what direction this process of involvement will take. But this much we do know. By using the glamour and excitement of present-day television, we can literally start a whole town *talking*."[1]

Assessment of the Results of Tele-clubs' Work

It was along the lines of these all too rare experiments that we tried to solve our own methodological problem. Our first concern was to find out the main preoccupations of tele-club leaders. When these leaders try to develop the effectiveness of their work, they seek to select from among all that "interests the public", which is most "worth while", what "enriching"—what leads to "self-improvement", etc. But what exactly do we mean by these expressions ? Is there a clearer criterion for the assessment of results ? And how exactly can the results be measured ?

One obvious way to judge the interest aroused by telecasts is from what people think of them, the degree of approval or disapproval, the number of people who, among the different categories of viewers, show approval or disapproval, etc. We can also ascertain the effects and cultural possibilities of telecasts from the impression they leave, their impact on tastes, knowledge and opinions, the desires and activities to which they have given rise, and so forth. For an objective assessment of the impact of a telecast on the life of viewers, we can check up on attendance and participation in discussions, or on changes in attitude and behaviour in professional, domestic or social life after a series of telecasts, etc.

For each particular problem we had to choose the most appropriate angle of approach, and put our questions in such a way as to obtain the clearest and most reliable answers possible. The questions were worked out during preliminary field enquiries by a team including the various research-workers —ethnographers, sociologists and psychologists, the producers of the broadcasts, the teachers entrusted with the commentaries,

1. Siepmann, op. cit.

and the agricultural engineer responsible for land re-allocation in the Department of the Aisne. For five days, most members of the team met for a preparatory course at the Institut National d'Education Populaire at Marly-le-Roi.[1]

Field Observation and Experiment

Our study of the interest aroused by the telecasts, and of their possible cultural influence, was not easy, as we could question only a small number of people. We therefore had to use several dovetailing methods and techniques so as to have as many cross-checks as possible—direct and indirect questions; questions to which only one or questions to which any reply could be given; subjective interrogation and objective observation; description, analysis and statistics.

Whenever possible we tried to give our observations a statistical framework. Figures cannot, of course, take the place of analysis. But they establish the dimensions and the relative importance of a social phenomenon, give some idea of differences and variations, and provide a standard for comparison. To avoid giving the impression of pedantic reliance on statistics, we had no hesitation in rounding off our figures to the next number or the nearest ten.

Last but not least, we made the fullest possible use of field experiments for the study of our subject. The experimental method is, after all, no more than a systematic, rational testing of our hypotheses. A tele-club is not of course a laboratory, and we deliberately refrained from resorting to the artificial devices often used for the study of group dynamics on the pretext that they afford better means of isolating and assessing the effect of any given factor. Indeed we scrupulously avoided any methods that would not elicit genuine reactions on the part of countryfolk, who are specially hostile to surveys. Our experimental study had to be made part of the every-day life of the group. The reliability of our results thus offset any possible incompleteness.[2]

The Questionnaires

Accordingly, we had to devise questionnaires for observing and interpreting the results of the work of tele-clubs, television programmes and the "Etat d'urgence" series. If these questionnaires were to yield sufficiently reliable results, they had to be understood and accepted by the rural television public whom it was necessary to make active partners in this enquiry.

---

1. Cf. Notes on Methods, The organization of team work for the survey, p. 225.
2. Notes on Methods, General remarks on the use of observation and experimentation in the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure, p. 229.

Our methods had to be supple if they were to reveal any changes in attitude over the short period of five months. Conventional "tests" had to be ruled out, as they were not suited to these particular aims and working conditions. Nor was uniformity a desirable quality, for our methods had to register results with many facets and facilitate the maximum amount of cross-checking.[1]

To begin with, each tele-club had to be fully seen against its local background as a whole—with general facts about the environment in order to interpret certain reactions of the clubs. Hence the need for a descriptive *survey of each individual locality* (method no. 1). Then, as the main purpose of the 13 telecasts in the series "Etat d'urgence" was to encourage modernization, we wished to register the reaction of tele-club members to this problem before they viewed the telecasts, so as to compare it with their attitude to the same problems after the series had been completed and find out whether there had been any change of attitude. Hence the *two references (initial and final) on reactions to the modernization of public, collective and domestic equipment* (method no. 2).

But such a method of assessment was apt to be rather superficial. We felt it essential to jot down the reactions of spectators during and after each telecast, during the ensuing discussion and even in the course of their everyday remarks and behaviour. We therefore developed a *Log-book* to be kept for each of the 13 telecasts of "Etat d'urgence" (method no. 3).

Lastly, it was helpful to compare the reactions elicited by our experimental telecasts with reactions to other programmes. This would also give an idea of the possible cultural contributions of the various types of telecasts and the main activities of the tele-clubs. Hence the *general survey of the Télévision Française programmes* (method no. 4).

All four methods of assessing results were applied for a period of six months by the teacher-observer, guided or assisted by the team of research-workers. Except for the surveys of each individual locality, the enquiries were all conducted by direct interviews. The answers were written down, either by the teacher and his assistants, or (after a long interview) by the person questioned. An important safeguard was that in all cases the interviewer had a personal acquaintance, often of long standing, with the persons to whom he addressed his questions.

Experimental Tele-clubs

Such observations could not be carried out in all tele-clubs. A few had to be selected, to serve as samples.[2] There could be no

1. The four questionnaires and the instructions for their use can be supplied by Unesco's Department of Mass Communication to those who wish to consult them.
2. Cf. Notes on Methods, The problem of sampling, p. 230.

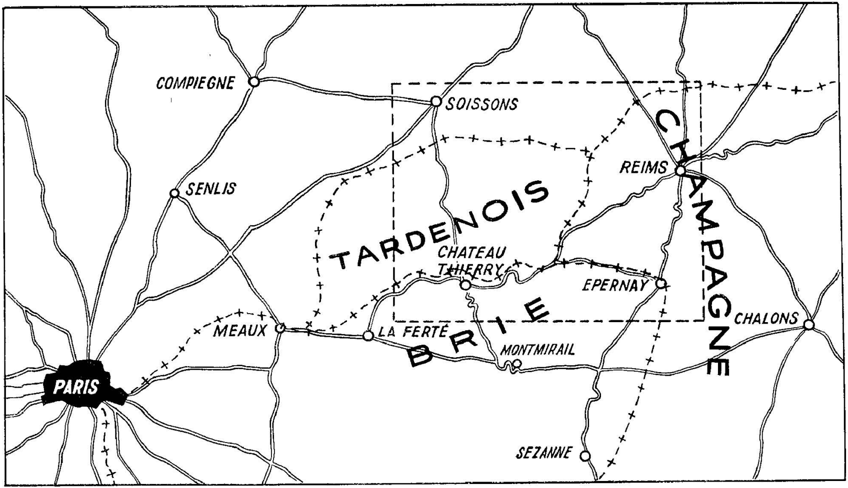
question of "drawing lots" for them. We knew that first-rate teacher-observers were needed to lead the discussions and shoulder the heavy burden of the enquiry. Accordingly we first selected some 50 tele-clubs out of 180. Then the number was reduced to 15—in 10 localities for experiment and 5 auxiliary localities—upon which we drew as required. The number of persons questioned ranged between 225 and 231, depending on the subject of enquiry.

I. Everyone knows that the basic principle of experimentation is the isolation of a given factor so as to enable its action to be studied in detail. We neither wished nor were able to isolate, in turn, all the factors exerting an influence on the reactions of our televiewers. Furthermore, as we were unable to eliminate factors of less interest to us, we neutralized them by the way in which we selected our samples. This was the procedure adopted in regard to regional differences and variations in the make-up of the villages. Tele-clubs in France first developed in the area covered by the Paris transmitter and have become most popular in the Department of the Aisne. Yet the way of life varies even from one part of this Department to another; and very wide differences are found in neighbouring Tardenois, Brie and Champagne areas.

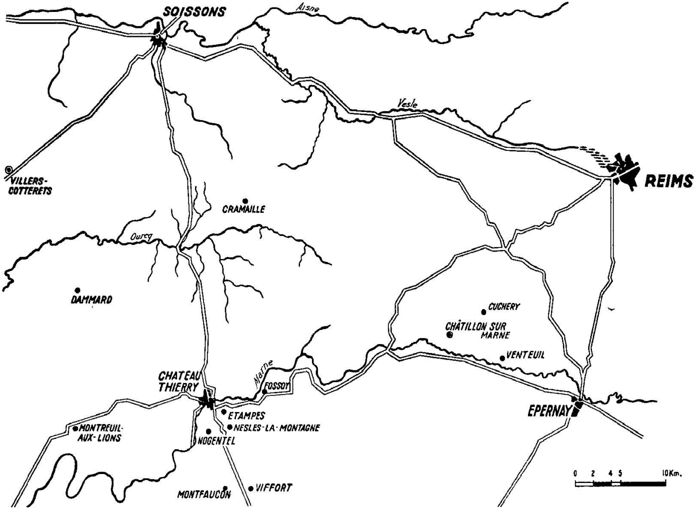
The various villages may also differ considerably in their economic and social make-up. The French countryside is a complex subject for study. In the so-called rural districts in which our tele-clubs operate, every degree of urbanization is to be found, from the compact, well-equipped village near a town, with agricultural occupations in the minority, such as Etampes (Aisne) to the village distant from any town and consisting of scattered, comfortless hamlets—such as Montfaucon (Aisne). Similar differences are found as regards land tenure in our various localities. On the outskirts of the Brie district, around Château-Thierry, we encounter mainly small farms of less than 20 hectares, cultivating several types of crop (e.g. Viffort and Fossoy). Near Epernay, in Champagne, holdings are even smaller; but they are wealthier, this being a wine-growing district (e.g. Venteuil and Chatillon in the Marne). North of Château-Thierry, or in the Aube Department, we find large estates with "big" landowners and their farm labourers (e.g. Dammard in the Aisne and St. Aubin in the Aube).

The tele-clubs surveyed were therefore so selected as to provide a fair cross-section of these various regional, economic and social types. For an understanding of reactions to telecasts on modernization special account had to be taken of economic and social factors. Our samples will therefore be described on this basis.

The localities selected belong to the following regions: nine communes from the Department of the Aisne (Montfaucon, Viffort, Fossoy, Gramaille, Montreuil-aux-Lions, Nesle-la-



The region in which the survey was carried out.



Location of the tele-clubs covered by the survey.

Montagne, Nogentel, Etampes); six communes from other Departments: Marne (Châtillon, Venteuil), Oise (Coudray-St. Germer, Les Marais), Eure-et-Loir (Boullay-Mivoie), Aube (St. Aubin).

Our 15 experimental tele-clubs reflect the following differences in economic and social conditions:

A. *Ten main localities*

Communes where agricultural occupations predominate:

1. A fairly isolated village with an agricultural population working on small or medium-sized farms (several crops). The tele-club is the only cultural activity: Montfaucon.
2. Another isolated village of the same type: Viffort.
3. Similar, but closer to the town: Fossoy.
4. An isolated village with small and medium-sized vineyards, the tele-club being attached to a very active school co-operative (cine-club): Venteuil.
5. An isolated village with a mixed population (one-third of the inhabitants employed in industry and other non-agricultural occupations), but where wine-growers (small and medium-sized holdings) are in the majority. The tele-club is the only organized cultural activity: Châtillon-sur-Marne.
6. An isolated village with a predominantly agricultural population working for two big landowners. A high proportion of the inhabitants are of foreign origin. The tele-club operates as part of a very energetic rural centre engaging in many activities: Dammard.
7. An isolated village of much the same type (a small number of very large estates, and a steady tendency towards concentration), but with almost as many industrial workers as farm labourers. The tele-club is practically the only organized cultural activity: St. Aubin.

Communes where non-agricultural occupations predominate:

8. A village, near the chief town of a district, where most of the inhabitants are employed in industry, but with a large minority of agricultural workers mostly employed on small and medium-sized farms (though some of the estates are fairly large). The tele-club was founded recently and is the only local cultural activity: Nesle-la-Montagne.
9. A village also very close to the chief town of the district, with a population consisting mainly of industrial workers (roughly 50 per cent), but still engaging in a certain amount of rural activity (about 30 per cent). The School Friendly Society conducts various cultural activities. The tele-club is the oldest in the region: Nogentel.
10. A village which in fact is a suburb of the chief town of the district. Agricultural work occupies less than 3 per cent of the total population. High proportion of retired persons and people with private means. The

tele-club has been operating for three years along with a cine-club, even though the town is so near: Etampes.

B. *Five auxiliary localities*

The ten localities just described were the main operational base for the enquiry. The following five communes were unable to supply all the information requested of them, or to fill in all the questionnaires. However, they constituted most useful auxiliary localities for the purpose of our enquiry:

1. An isolated village with an agricultural population consisting mostly of labourers employed on a few large farms. The tele-club is the only cultural activity: Cramaille (comparable to Dammard).
2. A village of 253 inhabitants, the majority of whom work on mixed farms: one-third of the population farm labourers: Boulaye-Mivoie (comparable to Montfaucon).
3. A village of 646 inhabitants 10.5 miles from the chief town of the district. The majority of the population in non-agricultural occupations, but a strong agricultural minority. A high proportion of workers, both industrial and agricultural. Of the latter, the great bulk work on small and medium-sized farms: Montreuil-aux-Lions.
4. A village of 315 inhabitants with an agricultural majority, working, for the most part, small and medium-sized farms. Barely 10 per cent are farm labourers. A number of foreigners: Coudray-St. Germer.
5. A village of 376 inhabitants, the majority in non-industrial occupations. Office and factory workers, who work in Beauvais. Those living on the land work small and medium-sized farms for the most part: Aux Marais.[1]

II. Our aim was to neutralize regional differences and variations in economic and social conditions but, on the other hand, to isolate as far as possible the reactions of certain categories of viewers, whom it is specially important to understand if adult rural education is to be developed through television.

1. In the first place, reactions differ according to occupation. In fact, they are affected not only by the nature of the work, but also by the corresponding economic status, social relations and cultural level. We mean, more accurately, socio-occupational categories.

   Fifteen such categories were selected for our enquiry, but statistical requirements obliged us to regroup these in various ways, according to the working method used (methods nos. 2, 3 and 4).

   (a) To begin with we picked out the small farmers,[2] for whom the "Etat d'urgence" series was mainly designed.

---

1. See Appendix I, Description of communes in which the experimental tele-clubs are situated, p. 235.
2. These include both tenant farmers and farmers who work their own land.

One of the most urgent problems in rural education in connexion with the equipment of town and countryside is how to familiarize over 300,000 small farmers with the benefits of progress.[1] The reactions of this category of televiewer was therefore of prime importance to us. We included in it the few rural craftsmen (6 per cent of our sample)—farriers, saddlers, etc. Their outlook is very similar to that of the small farmers who are their clients. Like the small farmers, they feel they are being left "high and dry" in their village.

(b) Our next category consists of farm labourers and the big farmers. France has almost as many farm labourers as small farmers. When studying reactions during programmes, special attention was given to these farm labourers, as also to the big farmers; but we were unable to treat the latter separately in the statistical study of the initial and final referenda on modernization, or in the general survey on programmes, since the number of individuals concerned was so small. We had to group together all workers—agricultural and non-agricultural—and all non-manual professions, including managers or owners of large farms.

(c) The regrouping of agricultural and non-agricultural workers does not mean that we were unmindful of the differences between these two categories. But, all in all, these differences seemed less material than the similarity in attitudes towards the television programme and the particular problem of modernization. This remark is borne out by a comparison of the attitude of this united category with that of the small farmers and the non-manual professors.

(d) Non-manual workers, for their part, are less numerous in the localities with predominantly agricultural occupations, but are naturally far better represented in localities where the majority of occupations are non-agricultural. Despite the very real differences in social status as between office workers, teachers and managers of large farms, they have all gone beyond the *certificat d'études* (primary school leaving certificate) in their studies. They are not manual workers; they have more extensive general knowledge, a greater gift for self-expression, practive in writing, etc. We are quite aware that this new category, evolved to meet statistical requirements, does not reflect any real economic and social unit; but in the tele-club discussions, its members did in fact stand out from the manual workers who had not carried their studies beyond the primary school, and especially from

1. The working population of France amounts to roughly 20 million persons.

the small farmers. This difference was of particular interest to us in our study of rural tele-clubs.

2. As to the other categories, we studied reactions according to sex. In country and town alike, adult education in France is all too often planned by men for men. This bias is particularly unfortunate in the villages, where the womenfolk have an even heavier burden of work than their town sisters. They have little spare time and often lose all desire for self-instruction, satisfied to remain a mere timid echo of their husbands. We were specially interested in their reactions, with a view to a more balanced development of adult education through television.

   Lastly, we studied reactions on an age basis. The main reason for this decision was, of course, the general drift towards the towns—mainly on the part of young people. We wanted to know what age groups were most resistant or most favourable to modernization, and how these different age groups were going to react to the "Etat d'urgence" series. At the outset we identified five age categories, regrouped for reasons of statistical convenience into three larger categories: young people under 25 years of age, mostly unmarried; men from 26 to 39 years of age; and men over 40 years of age. We were unable to sub-divide these groups further.[1]

Finally, this study of differences led on to an investigation of the extent to which the variations observed between a few samples of each category could serve as a basis for valid general conclusions. By applying the laws of probability to small samples[2] we were able to establish, for the observation of different attitudes, the probable percentage of error in any general conclusion. If the percentage of error was between 10 per cent and 5 per cent, we took it that the difference was *significant* (S.D.); if the percentage was 5 per cent or less, we assumed that the difference was *highly significant* (H.S.D.).

Whenever it was impossible to apply the law of probabilities, we cross-checked quantitative and qualitative observations and testimony so as to make our generalized findings as reliable as possible. When the scientific checks were inadequate—either because we had too small a sample to carry out a statistical test, or because the necessary cross-checks could not be made with our particular experiment or method of assessment—we did not use the replies, interesting as they might have been to confirm or disprove our hypotheses.

The psycho-sociology of leisure does not merely seek to record opinions or behaviour. It aims to furnish its own particular replies to the complex problems of adult education policy and

1. Appendix III, The population under survey after statistical regrouping, p. 250.
2. Cf. Notes on Methods, The theory of small samples and the application of Pearson's criterion to the investigation, p. 232.

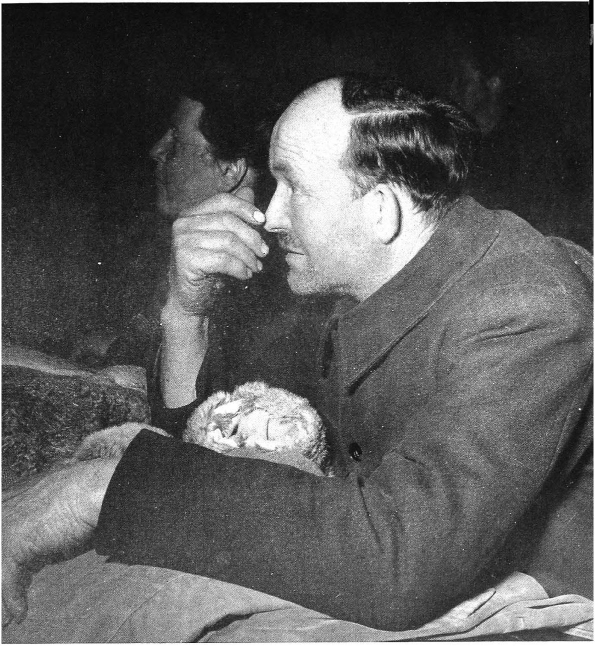
methods, and to supply more effective aid to those who are endeavouring to create or transform recreation centres with a view to arousing a more active response on the part of the public.

But such considerations do not lead the scientific spirit to abate its insistence on independence and precision. Its function, then, is to: devise methods and techniques suited to each problem; assess as accurately as possible the degree of probability of the results obtained by the different methods; to distinguish as clearly as possible in the analysis of the replies between observation on the one hand and explanation or forecast on the other.

We endeavoured to adhere to these principles.

PART ONE

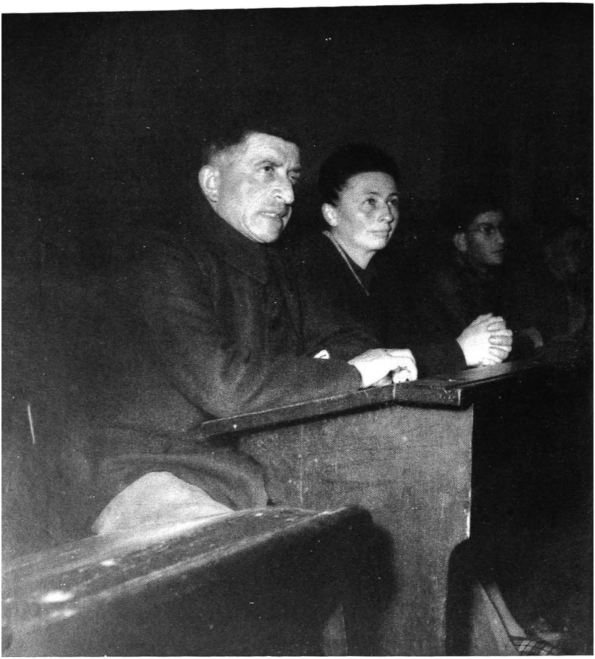
The tele-clubs



AUDIENCE OF THE EXPERIMENTAL TELE-CLUBS: small farmers ...
(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)

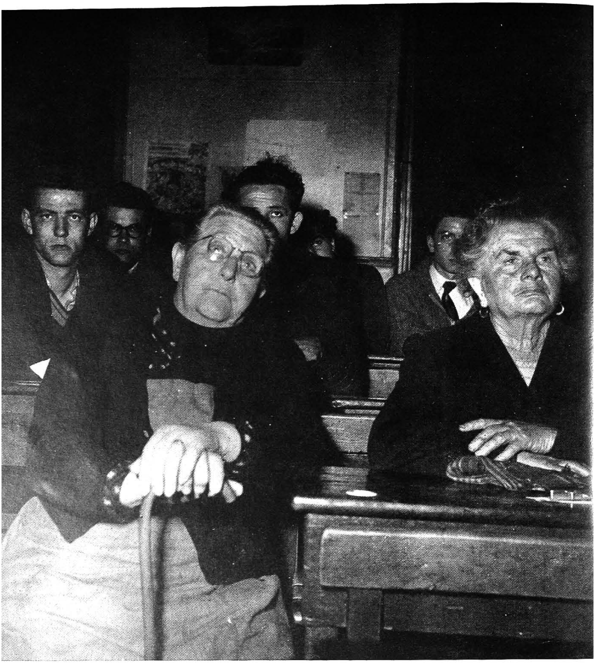
... agricultural labourers ... *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*

... industrial workers ... *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*



. . . a married couple . . . *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*

... young folk ... (Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)



... old folk. *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*

The schoolteacher. *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*

I. The history of tele-clubs

DIFFICULTIES FACING THE COMMERCIAL AND NON-COMMERCIAL CINEMA IN THE VILLAGES OF THE AISNE

French tele-clubs were brought into existence by the difficult situation of the 16 mm small-size-films in the villages of the Aisne Department. Professional operators had established several commercial circuits, but owing to the high cost of hiring films they soon found themselves faced with a dilemma : Were they to hire, cheaply, films often of poor quality, or indulge in the luxury of using better and more recent films at much greater expense which would compel them to raise the prices of their seats ? Bad films and high-priced seats produced exactly the same result—attendances fell drastically.

At the same time, adult education was expanding in these country districts. As from 1945, the number of secular friendly societies, rural centres and family clubs had begun to increase rapidly in the favourable atmosphere of the liberation. Encouraged by energetic teachers, the Fédération départementale des Œuvres laïques péri- et post-scolaires (departmental federation for secular after-school and out-of-school activities)[1] equipped a large number of rural schools with 16 mm sound-projectors. It promoted the establishment of cine-clubs, and leaders were trained for these throughout the area. A number of circuits were organized, and the Aisne became one of the best-equipped

1. In France, in addition to the official services of the Ministry of Education, important associations, approved by that Ministry, have been set up to co-ordinate after-school activities, provide teachers with the necessary materials and train them for the work. Apart from the Confédération française des Œuvres péri- et post-scolaires, we may mention the Fédération Française des Foyers ruraux, the Fédération Française des Maisons de Jeunes et de la Culture, and Peuple et Culture, an educational movement interested in the development of tele-clubs in country districts.

departments from the standpoint of popular culture. But although the cine-clubs, as non-commercial undertakings, were exempted from taxation, after a few years they found that they could no longer add new films to their programmes except at prohibitive prices.[1] Hence the crisis.

TELE-CLUBS, A HOPEFUL EXPERIMENT

The idea of utilizing community television as a means of adult education was launched in February 1950. It originated in a kind of joke made by the treasurer of the Château-Thierry cine-club, who concluded his annual financial report with these gloomy words : "If we are to survive, we shall have to give up the cinema and turn to television !" Television was unknown at that time in the Aisne Department, and none of those present at the meeting—not even the humorist himself—had ever seen a television programme. The Château-Thierry cine-club was the most prominent in a rural circuit consisting of 12 groups, which used the same films and shared a projector, and the financial position of the other 11 clubs was almost equally unsatisfactory. The annual accounts of the whole group showed a considerable deficit, giving little hope for the future of the undertaking which had been initiated with such enthusiasm only two years previously.

Looking for a way of continuing this form of popular education, which he was reluctant to give up, Mr. Roger Louis, the chief organizer, decided that his treasurer's idea of resorting to television was perhaps not a bad one. There were, however, a number of questions which would have to be answered before the new technique could be introduced to the community as a means of popular education : could television broadcasts be received in the Aisne ? were there any sets with a screen large enough to enable thirty or more people to watch at the same time ? were the pictures clear enough ? what did sets cost, and how were they to be purchased ?

Roger Louis wrote, on the off-chance, to Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, asking for information on the first

1. One difficulty is that the number of 16 mm films available to non-commercial circuits is comparatively small—partly because commercial distributors are uninterested in, or even hostile to, this line of business, and partly because the associations cannot afford to have 16 mm copies made.

three of these points. The reply was both encouraging and disappointing : there were television sets with a 441-line definition,[1] which projected a fairly sharp picture measuring 1 m by 0.75 m; but RTF doubted whether they could be used in the Aisne, at a distance of about 60 miles from the transmitter The organizer felt, however, that this information was sufficiently promising to justify further investigation of television, and a meeting with its official representatives (with whom he was entirely unacquainted). This double event took place at the Paris headquarters of Télévision française, where Roger Louis had his first glimpse of a television programme !

He was filled with enthusiasm; and though all the necessary conditions for the reception of telecasts in the Aisne were still far from present, he felt that "something simply must be done" to bring television into popular education. Back in the Aisne, he called a meeting of leaders of the cine-clubs in his circuit, who were infected by his enthusiasm. They decided that an experiment in reception simply must be made. But how were they to buy sets, at a price of over 100,000 francs ?[2] A solution was put forward by the Peuple et Culture association, which proposed in its magazine that the public be grouped into viewers' co-operatives, a system which had already been adopted in 1946 for the purpose of theatrical performances. These co-operatives would be formed for the collective purchase of equipment, the members of the existing cine-clubs being asked to combine to buy a television set... always assuming reception were possible in the district.

---

1. 441-819 definition. Like the screen of a photograph reproduced in a newspaper, which is made up of a number of black dots of varying sizes, the television screen is made up of lines of varying light intensity. These lines cover the screen in a continuous sequence from top to bottom, and the "definition" refers to the number of lines which make up the entire television image. French television began its broadcasts in 1944 with a 441 line definition. This was increased in 1948 to the higher definition of 819 lines, and receivers with this higher definition came on the market some time after that date. To satisfy owners of 441-line sets, French television continues to broadcast on both definitions. The 441-line broadcasts will be discontinued in 1958, by which time owners of low-definition sets are expected to have replaced or converted their receivers.
2. Weights, measures and monetary values have not been converted in the text into their anglo-american equivalents, except for kilometres which are expressed in miles. For the convenience of the reader we here give the equivalents for the French values mentioned in the text:
   100 French francs equal 28.50 cents and 2/-.
   1 hectare equals 2.471 acres.
   1 litre equals 1.057 U.S. quarts and 0.880 British quarts.
   1 kilogramme equals 2.205 pounds.

It remained to draw up a plan of action likely to interest television manufacturers in the idea of an experiment. The logical form for such a plan seemed to be : 1. Organization of a series of trial receptions in the villages where cine-clubs existed. 2. Public demonstrations in villages where reception was found to be possible, followed by a speech explaining the principle of the collective purchase proposed with a view to establishing a co-operative. In the light of the results achieved, this plan could be extended to other villages, and systematic action undertaken throughout the district.

For this purpose, it was essential to secure technical and financial assistance from the manufacturers and to convince them that the venture was likely to prove a worth-while commercial proposition. This was not easy. One manufacturer however, after long hesitation, yielded to the persistence of Roger Louis and agreed to supply the necessary equipment and to meet the cost of the experiment —though he was convinced beforehand that it would be an utter failure. As luck would have it—or, as the technicians declared, by a miracle—reception proved possible, if not always excellent, in many of the villages where the tests were made. All that remained was to see how the purchasers' co-operative would work out. The village of Nogentel, which had already distinguished itself by the number and variety of its achievements in the field of popular education, was chosen as the guinea-pig for this purpose. On the first night, over 120 people crowded into a classroom intended for no more than 30 children.

TWO TRIAL VILLAGES

After Nogentel came Etampes, a village near Château-Thierry. Here again the first attempt was completely successful. The question now was, which of the two villages would be the first to buy a large-screen television set and open its tele-club ? Friendly rivalry arose between them. Membership of both the former cine-clubs had been mixed, consisting partly of local inhabitants and partly of townspeople. All of them were eager to get their tele-club started. But the railway-workers and the employees of the co-operatives were the most numerous, and also the most active in propaganda. The stage reached by the

subscription-list was discussed every day in the engine-sheds and workshops.

In order to show, in a way that appealed to the imagination, how the money was coming in, Nogentel constructed a thermometer and Etampes a dial, made of wood and cardboard and marked out in thousands of francs. These were set up outside the school in each village, so that people could watch the total mounting day by day. All classes of the population shared in this community effort—though the highest proportion of subscribers came from the least wealthy section. It took no more than a week to raise the 150,000 frs. needed for the purchase.[1]

GROWTH OF TELE-CLUBS

Selected to represent a wide variety of conditions (capability of the teacher, size and mentality of the population, wealth of the village, housing conditions, reception, etc.), 20 villages were then chosen for a repetition of the experiment, so that the development of public interest in television and its programmes might be studied over a given period (one year).

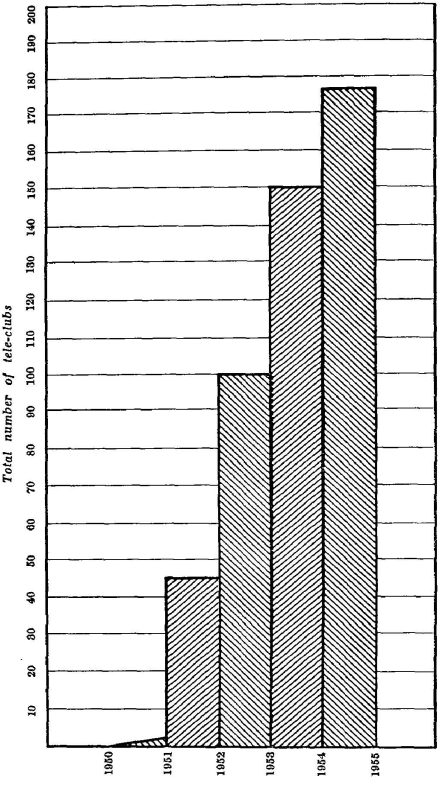
In each of these villages the same procedure was adopted : a general meeting, installation of a receiving set in the school, speech (by an organizer from outside the village) [2] explaining the system of collective purchase, free admission for all comers to the first three programmes, entrance fee for subsequent programmes, distribution of leaflets, use of the local press for publicity. Despite the great variety of

1. For instance, the following table shows the subscribers in one of the two villages, classified according to their professions (it should be noted that the population of this village consists mainly of factory and office workers employed in the neighbouring town):

Profession	*Number*	*Contribution (francs)*
Small pensioners and people with small private means	4	13,000
Farm workers	9	20,000
Factory workers and civil servants	19	47,000
Small farmers	16	29,000
Medium farmers	5	10,000
Large farmers	8	20,000
School		30,000
Total	61	169,000

2. There were two reasons for this: (a) A teacher is often reluctant to ask the public to put up money, whatever the purpose. He feels it is like begging. (b) An organizer brought from the town makes a greater impression on country people than the teacher they know and see every day—whatever the latter's merits.

Graph 1. GROWTH OF RURAL TELE-CLUBS



conditions governing the experiment, the results were in nearly all cases identical. The time taken to raise the required amount varied from five days to a month, according to the village. There was only one failure, and this was largely due to a series of mishaps — the set did not work well, the programmes were unsuitable, etc.

The movement spread rapidly. By the beginning of 1952, 43 clubs had been founded and were giving regular programmes, while 40 receiving sets, provided by the manufacturer as a "permanent loan" to help the experiment forward, were used with a view to the opening of further clubs.

In 1954, some 180 tele-clubs in about ten departments were giving regular programmes. But requests for the creation of new clubs were still more numerous; and the limit of potential expansion is not yet in sight. By the end of 1955 over 17 million people in France will be able to watch French television if they wish.

There are, however, certain obstacles to this increase in the number of clubs. Since they are an entirely new development in adult education, they need to be introduced to the public, with an explanation of their purpose and method. At this stage of expansion, there is a need for national organizers to undertake the tasks carried out by Roger Louis at the beginning of the experiment — he himself has been fully occupied, during the past two years, by his new responsabilities as a producer. In order to ensure that numerous school and after-school educationists will follow in his footsteps, a permanent system of information and organization is urgently needed. But the educationist's ignorance of or prejudice against television is not easy to overcome.

It would be a good thing to have the support of a new organization — one which, while benefiting from the best results hitherto achieved in the fields of adult education, would not be hampered by administrative red-tape or old-fashioned teaching methods. A Federation of Cultural Television was founded on 18 March 1952, but did not survive, having to struggle against the apathy or hostility of the big adult educational associations. It has now given birth to a new association, Télévision et Culture, sponsored by a young and vigorous movement whose purpose is to apply new methods of teaching to popular education.

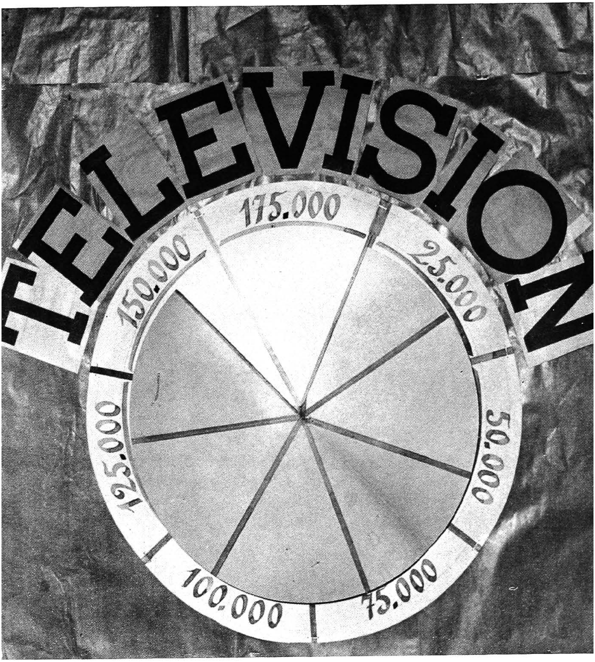
Educators must also be trained in the use of television as an educational medium; an initial seminar on "practical

teaching" in tele-clubs was scheduled for the end of 1954. Manufacturers, too, should make their financial and advertising resources available for the development of a big collective television movement. This would be a far-sighted policy. A country like France, with only an average standard of living, cannot provide a big enough market on the basis of "family sets" alone. At the beginning, the manufacturers undertook technical research to enable a 441-line definition to be projected on to a large screen, and perfected the apparatus required for collective viewing. But they do not seem to have expended so great an effort on the 819-line definition. It is to be hoped they will soon resume research and construction to facilitate collective as well as home viewing. The former is not commercially to be despised; the Inspectorate-General of Popular Education at the Ministry of Education has already announced plans for equipping 150 experimental tele-clubs in 1955 in the chief adult education institutions and associations.

II. The membership of tele-clubs

It might be thought that the members of our village tele-clubs would all come from one particular social class. Our survey has, however, shown that the most different types of people attend. Television has proved so attractive that each telecast draws audiences from all classes alike. As we shall see when we come to "Etat d'urgence", communication between groups with conflicting interests is not always easy, but at least they all come — whereas in the old-established village associations, such as the firemen's society or the municipal band, social taboos are much more in evidence. Here, by way of illustration, are some of the categories represented in the tele-clubs : at Viffort, 27 small farmers, 6 farm labourers; at Montfaucon, 15 small farmers, 13 large farmers, 3 farm labourers; at Dammard, the 15 most regular viewers include 4 large farmers and 8 farm labourers; while at the Nogentel tele-club, whose members are not all occupied in agriculture, the 23 most regular participants in the debates include 4 small farmers, 1 farm labourer, 8 workmen and 3 teachers.

Attendance at many of the adult education groups is frequently by no means representative of village society as



The dial at Etampes—it took no more than a week to raise the 150,000 francs needed for the purchase.

(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

Inside a tele-club. *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*

a whole. In the tele-clubs, things are very different. Their membership is not indeed an exact reflection of the local population. Young people between 15 and 25 provide a higher proportion than the other age groups; and the men come more than the women, who are often kept at home in the evening by housework. Also, even in villages with less than 600 inhabitants, membership among industrial workers and, still more, farm labourers is proportionately lower than among office-workers or large farmers. At Montfaucon only 10 per cent of the population are large farmers, but they account for 25 per cent of tele-club membership. At Châtillon, a market-town with 600 inhabitants, the high proportion of office-workers is most evident : they form 6 per cent of the total population, but 29 per cent of tele-club membership.

Generally speaking, however, all ages and professions, and both sexes, are fully represented in our rural tele-clubs. As regards the different social and professional categories, there is hardly ever a difference of more than 20 per cent between their representation in the village and in the tele-club—which shows that most tele-clubs contain a typical cross-section of the whole community. At Montfaucon, small farmers represent 43 per cent of the village population and 43 per cent of club membership; at Viffort the figure is 42 per cent of population and 45 per cent of club membership. At Châtillon there are 23 per cent skilled workmen in the village and 25 per cent in the tele-club.

It might also have been feared that the clubs, while well attended during the winter, would be neglected in favour of other pursuits during the summer months. Attendance does, indeed, fall off by between 5 per cent and 10 per cent in the summer, owing to the claims of outdoor work; but although people come a little less regularly, they do come. The villagers would protest if the clubs closed down when the season of work in the field came round. Viewers at one of the regular tele-club performances were asked, in April; "How many times a week do you come to the tele-club?" The replies are given in table 1.

Do regular viewers come more or less automatically to the club? If so, is there perhaps a danger that television may tend to standardize leisure-time habits? Or that the attraction of 40 hours of telecasts per week may upset the natural balance of the workers' recreations?

Table 1.

Weekly attendance	*Winter*	*Summer*
	%	%
4 or more visits	7	10
3 or more visits	29	22
2 or more visits	28	21
1 or more visits	20	18
less than once a week	2.2	8
no reply	13.8	21

What our survey shows is the very varied nature of the audience. The above table, showing summer and winter attendance, was compiled chiefly from the replies of regular viewers, but in actual fact those who come less than once a week make up far more than 2.2 per cent or 8 per cent of the total. For the audiences do not consist entirely of "regular clients". Many people drop in by chance. This makes for a changing public, difficult to sum up. For instance at Dammard, a village with a number of large farms, the schoolmaster estimates that 65 of the 80 viewers come once a week or less. At Nogentel, where the population consists of farm and office workers in about equal proportions, audiences average about 30; but the day a locally-made film was shown, over 100 viewers came. When some important event is televised, audiences are sometimes five times as large as for an ordinary programme; this was the case at Etampes when the coronation of the Queen of England was shown. In short, there is in all the villages a wide gap between the figures for regular viewing and for occasional attendance. Again at Nogentel, the local team estimates that 15 per cent of the population come under the former heading, 40 per cent under the latter.

What are the principal types of club televiewers? First, there are the *occasional viewers*. These are the most numerous. They come in particular circumstances, or on special occasions, when some family or public event is taking place. A relative or friend comes on a visit, and is brought to "see the television". Or the papers announce that a president is to be elected or a queen crowned, and that "the ceremony will be televised". In this category we may include the intermittent viewer who comes only at very irregular intervals.

The *ordinary viewers* fall into three categories. The "regulars", who come to the club on an average at least once or twice a week, for "their" programme—theatre, variety or outside telecast, as the case may be. Some of them have "their" day—Wednesday, Saturday or Sunday. According

to our attendance survey, confirmed by the educationists, 55 per cent of the ordinary viewers are "regulars". Then come the "steadies", who visit the tele-club, on an average, twice or three times a week. They come for the sake of the club—as much to meet their fellow-members as to watch the programme. They make up about 35 per cent of the ordinary viewers. Finally there are what might be called the "enthusiasts"—those who come three or four times a week, see all or nearly all the programmes, and even visit the club outside the programme hours. Many of these are unmarried people, or young married couples. They feel at home at the tele-club, whose community atmosphere supplements the family circle or provides a substitute for it. It is they who chiefly support and help to run the clubs. They amount to between 10 and 15 per cent of the ordinary viewers.

The general success of the tele-clubs is all the more noteworthy in that material circumstances are not much in their favour. A large proportion of the villagers cannot attend, because they would have too far to walk home in the dark, along lanes which are often muddy or snowy. Only 7 per cent of present viewers live more than a kilometre away from the club. Yet Montfaucon consists of 10 hamlets and Viffort of 7, a number of which are several kilometres away from the club. If the country schools had school buses, they could bring parents and children together, and club membership would show a further considerable increase. But such innovations, though badly needed, are still far distant, and the French tele-clubs realize that they must go ahead without waiting for them.

In short, all our observations and reflections warrant the conclusion that the tele-club is a form of recreation which is finding a natural place in village life. It is not reserved for any particular social circle, nor is membership confined to a handful of fanatics. It attracts a widely varied audience, and each member fits the club activities into his personal programme of recreation. Many people come only at very irregular intervals, to celebrate some event of personal, family or general interest. For others, the club becomes their favourite spare-time haunt. Some people come regularly to a particular programme, some make it the occasion for an "evening out", and some attend in order to meet their friends or join in group activities. Thus the tele-club as a social institution offers very various

possibilities, adaptable to the manifold needs of a small village.

III. Equipment of the clubs

PREMISES

The tele-club's appeal to the public is certainly not due to the comfort it provides. The cinema and the theatre are supposed to owe their success in great measure to well-padded seats and eye-catching decoration; but most tele-clubs are housed in school classrooms. In France, as in other countries, village schools differ considerably is size and appearance, usually they are not large, consisting of only one or two classrooms. In small villages the building usually dates from the period 1881-85, when primary education became free and compulsory. Villages which suffered damage in World Wars I or II have more modern buildings. The are a few cases, but only a few, where the tele-club operates on other premises, more suitable for recreation—such as the main hall of the Rural Club at Dammard.

A classroom is stamped with the personality of the teacher who presides there. If he has a feeling for decoration, knows how to use his influence with the municipal council, and can stimulate the children's imagination, the room is bright and cheerful. The oldest of the wooden benches on which the audience sits have been replaced by modern chairs, and the benches themselves are arranged with a certain informality. The iron stove has been somehow concealed. The walls are adorned with engravings, colour reproductions and children's drawings. But many teachers, excellent in other ways, have neither the time, the resources nor perhaps the taste for such improvements. In that event the classrooms have remained unchanged since the days when the parents or even the grandparents of the present occupants went to school there, and provide no comfort for the body or pleasure for the eye. There are not enough school benches to seat the entire audience at a "full house", so that backless benches, putting a great strain on the viewers' muscles, have to be fetched to eke them out. Fuel is expensive; and the custom

established in certain villages, where the viewers bring the teacher an extra supply of wood for the tele-club, is not everywhere observed. Where it is not, the fire lit to warm the afternoon classes is kept up until the beginning of the programme and gradually dies out during the evening, so that the debate at the end is conducted in defiance of the rapidly-falling temperature. And on Thursday, the weekly holiday, no fire is lit at all. Few tele-clubs indeed attract by the comfort of their premises. The old school buildings were not planned to accomodate radio and television. Acoustics are often bad and, as all the seats are on the same level, the view from the back rows in a packed house leaves much to be desired.

But the audience duly squeezes on to the cramped old benches which shave their knees. The spectators are apt to sort themselves into groups—here a flock of children, there a cluster of old ladies, several local winegrowers, or lads about to leave for their military service who are "chipping" the compact cluster of girls. All of them have their favourite seats. All of them talk, laugh, stamp their feet or catcall, and even during the telecast there is never complete silence, except at particularly tense moments. Most of the time the programme goes on the accompaniment of noisy comment, whispering, exclamations, stifled squeals, and children's laughter. In short, everyone feels at home.

In many cases greater comfort might certainly be provided. Here too the tele-clubs are doing good work by calling attention to the need for improving the school buildings and classrooms.[1] Admittedly the unpretentious surroundings contribute to the "atmosphere" of certain telecasts, helping viewers to feel themselves linked to the outside world without being obliged to "dress up". But the skill shown in adapting to new ends what was already inadequate for its original purpose should not constitute an excuse for ignoring requirements upon whose satisfaction the future development of the French village is largely dependent. The introduction of primary education made it necessary to build a school in every French commune: the expansion of recreational facilities now calls for the provision of a communal house of culture, which would provide accommodation for a tele-club, a 16 mm cinema, a library, an assembly hall and so forth. An enquiry such

1. Appendix VIII, General table showing acquisitions or improvements [...].

as ours points directly to the need for a plan for the extension and modernization of cultural equipment in France, to be drawn up with an eye to the requirements not only of schools but of after-school education as well.

Our enquiry has also revealed the social function of the best teachers. These public educationists are not merely schoolmasters; they are also leaders of the rural community. Despite their uncomfortable premises and the meagre grants, they succeed, by dint of competence, energy and self-sacrifice, in continuing their educational work outside school hours. They uphold the prestige of the non-denominational schools. Respecting every type of belief, they assure the continuing influence of the school among the many country labourers whose official education ceased when they were 14 or even younger. Their work among young people and adults serves to continue the struggle against ignorance and prejudice—factors that impede individual development and hold the villages back. Teachers are probably in no country more active than in France. It is to them that rural tele-clubs owe their "flying start", just as it was they who fostered the thousands of out-of-school and after-school associations that have arisen in our villages and small towns.

RECEPTION EQUIPMENT

Most of the tele-clubs considered in our survey are at present equipped with projection sets using a medium-sized screen (1 m × 1.20 m). Only one, that at Viffort, which is still in the experimental stage, uses a direct view set of the domestic type. A few already have 819-line receivers; of these, only one—St. Aubin—is in our main district, while three—Boulaye-Mivoie, Coudray St. Germain and Aux Marais—are in auxiliary localities.

The great majority, however, are still using 441-line receivers. This is not due to a preference for that as against the other definition. When the first clubs were opened in the Aisne, the 441-line transmitter was the only one powerful enough to make reception possible at a distance of 60 miles from Paris (the 819-line transmitter was still in the experimental stage). Moreover, large-screen receivers—"for projection on a separate screen", as it is called—were not then available for any other definition. Most tele-clubs were therefore originally equipped with

441-line receivers. This type of apparatus has, however, a number of drawbacks:

1. The picture tends to be blurred, and the large screen, which magnifies any flaws, makes this all the more tiring to the eye.
2. A "line transformer" has to be used at the transmitting end, to convert the 819-line into a 441-line definition, and this lowers the quality of the reception even more.
3. There are frequent breakdowns at the transmitting end, since the 441-line transmitter is to be abolished in 1958 and little or no maintenance work is now done on it.
4. Owing to the wave-length which is used, the telecasts are very liable to interference from cars, high-tension cables, engines, etc.

For all these reasons, the tele-clubs are now trying to obtain 819-line receivers—which, thanks to the technical improvements recently introduced into high-definition equipment, can now provide satisfactory reception in districts which were formerly too far away from the transmitting station.

One problem remains to be solved. The 819-line projection receivers are far more expensive to buy and to operate than the 441-line ones. Very few manufacturers have begun making them; and the new optical system used in projection, though it has greater possibilities (the size of the picture can be varied), is more costly and more fragile. Moreover, the cathode tubes employed do not last long. It still remains to investigate the possibility of an 819-line receiver more suitable for use in the tele-clubs. Manufacturers have not yet, in this respect, undertaken the research they have devoted to the promotion of domestic television.

IV. The operation of the clubs

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION

Most television receivers have been bought with funds raised collectively by the local people. In some cases the municipal authorities have made a grant towards the purchase—at Villers-Cotterets, for instance, the municipality had a classroom specially fitted up for use by the tele-club. Leading members of a community have sometimes made

exceptionally generous contributions to its tele-club, although they themselves never visit it. Part of the expenses have frequently been advanced by older cultural associations, such as the school friendly society or the municipal band.

Most tele-clubs require their members to pay entrance fees, in order to cover expenses, pay off purchasing costs, finance the later purchase of an 819-line receiver, or provide for other cultural activities such as excursions, buying of books, etc. On the average, the cost of the set is paid off in two years. This type of financial organization bears further witness to the spirit of co-operation prevailing in the tele-clubs.

DAYS AND HOURS OF RECEPTION

The choice of days for reception restricts and affects programme selection.

The first thing to bear in mind when fixing club-days is the season, which influences the work, and the leisure-hours, of country-people far more than it does those of town-dwellers. The experience of a number of local teams (Venteuil, Montfaucon, Châtillon) goes to show that after Easter there is a sharp fall in attendance at tele-clubs among those who work the land. The best period, whether for collective reception or for telecasts intended more particularly for countryfolk, seems to be from the end of the autumn work to about 15 March.[1] These considerations apply with less force to the non-farming sections of the public, although the factory workers nearly all have family gardens and are thus involved to some extent in the seasonal activities of the farmer. Of course there are always "fans" and people less absorbed by work on the land, who come to the club tele-casts in spring and summer. Old people come less often in winter because of the cold, but they attend more frequently in summer, that is why over-all attendance decreases by no more than 10 per cent. But during the warm months there is a perceptible drop in attendance among those who are working.

The days of reception are fixed to a great extent to fit in

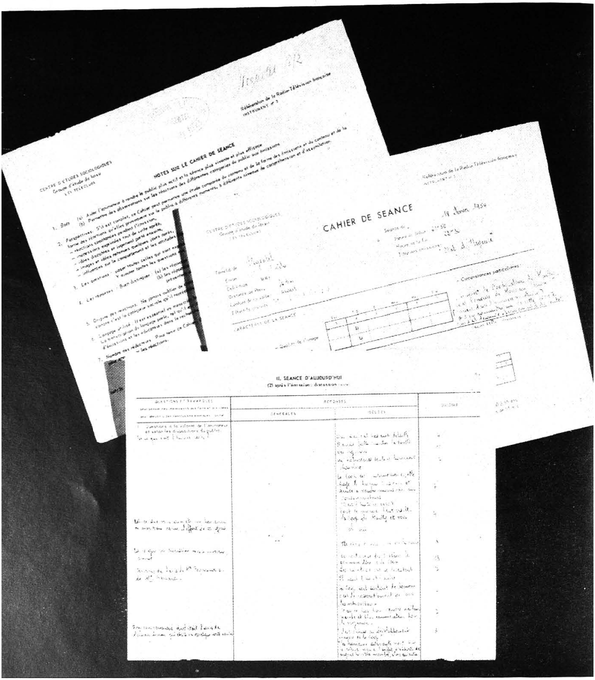
1. In countries where the seasons do not fall at the same junctures as in France, this period should be shifted to suit local conditions.

What's on tonight? It's posted on the blackboard ...

(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)

... or else the village constable announces the programmes as town crier.
(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

The meeting finished late. *(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)*



Spontaneous reactions jotted down in the logbook. *(Photo: Unesco.)*

with the week's work. Saturday evening, Sunday evening and Wednesday evening are by far the best times, and were advocated by over 100 of the 200 local people who replied to the enquiry made as part of our survey; only 25 people voted for Monday, which took fourth place on the list. The least favoured days are not so clearly indicated. The survey heard some simple but forcible observations illustrating the influence of farm-work on leisure. "All days are difficult, because we have to get up every morning at 6 o'clock, to milk the cow." Saturday is the best day, however, "because we can rest on Sunday" and "because we can bring the children, who have no school next day". Sunday evening is favoured too, because "Sundays are different from other days; we go out". And Wednesday is a good day "because it cuts the week in two, and because we can bring the children, the same as on Saturdays".[1] Monday is the worst day, because "we're resting after getting tired on Sunday", or because "we have to do the work we didn't bother with on Sunday". Farm-work similary affects the choice of hours for the programmes. A great majority of the persons questioned said they would like these to begin at 8 p.m. in winter and 8.30 in summer, and end at 11 p.m. (67 out of 180 replies).

A fair minority (48 out of the 180) preferred the winter programmes to end at 10.30 p.m. Here again, all the reasons given are concordant. "In winter we eat at six o'clock or half-past, and if there's long to wait we just go to bed." "In the summer, work goes on till late" said one farmer "so in the country it is better for the summer programmes to begin later." "Quite a lot of people are held up by work in their gardens" said a factory worker. "All the programmes have something interesting about them, but I don't think they should go on beyond 11 o'clock" said a craftsman. And a farmer's wife wound up by saying "Winter or summer, we get up at the same time, and that means early".

ANNOUNCEMENT OF TELECASTS

While the days for telecasts are picked chiefly so as to fit in with habits of work, the announcement of the pro-

1. In France the primary schools are closed on Thursdays.

grammes follows local customs. For although newspapers are now read more in country districts, not many viewers learn of the tele-club programmes from a daily or weekly paper. Even the wireless is seldom consulted for this information, though there is a set in almost every home (only 13 per cent of the persons question listened to television announcements on the radio). Of the viewers who replied to our questions, 46 per cent said they knew of the programmes from the notice which the leader of each tele-club put up at the club-door (a very rough-and-ready procedure, incidentally, more often than not, the items are simply written in chalk on a blackboard). On important occasions the schoolchildren copy the list on to slips of paper which they take round to the various houses, or else—as at Châtillon or at La Chapelle-sur-Chézy—the announcement is made by the local policeman, who acts as town crier.

This shows the influence that can be exerted by a good club-leader who has gained the villagers' confidence. It shows, too, that the tele-club, though using one of the most up-to-date communication media, has fitted perfectly into village life, and that its activities, like those of all spontaneously-formed country groups, are largely governed by local customs.

VIEWERS' REACTIONS DURING TELECASTS

In order to understand the way the audience reacts during telecasts, we must remember the informal atmosphere of the "auditorium" which we have already described. Some people arrive early, to get the best seats—the few chairs which are available here and there as a change from the school benches, or a place near the stove—but, generally speaking, the viewers have their recognized positions: the old people near the screen, the young ones at the back where it is dark, the children in front where an eye can be kept on them. There is also a tendency for people to settle in groups, according to their social category: whether they are labourers, small farmers, big farmers or belong to some non-agricultural calling, they like to keep together in their own particular corner, and to give free vent to their opinions—which they often do in audible tones, much more readily than in a cinema or even a cine-club. This attitude is not confined to collective viewing in country districts, but

is also to be observed at public telecasts in towns. Tele-club meetings are lively and even at times noisy.

M. I. LIBRARY MADRAS.

The noise is of two kinds, both of which denote keen interest. It may express approval: during an adventure film such as "Lost in the Jungle", shouts and exclamations are heard from the audience as it watches the treasure-hunt, the heroes creeping forward through the tall grass where danger lurks at every step, or the battle between the "good" and "bad" characters. Another example was provided by the first showing of a very popular variety programme at the Villers-Cotterets tele-club, when the leader noted that "very few individual remarks were heard during the telecast, only loud laughter after the jokes and 'gags'. At the beginning I had had to ask the audience not to get excited; there were 58 people in the little room".

But noise may equally express disapproval: it then takes the form of ironical comments, protests, or even cat calls. To remain silent without being asked to do so may be a sign of good manners. "Sometimes I need only walk about the room", writes one leader, "and the noise stops at once". Silence may also indicate concentrated attention. The organizer of a wine-growers' tele-club remarks, with reference to the first three "Etat d'urgence" telecasts, that "during variety shows, and sometines even during films, audible comments—sometimes coarse or sarcastic—may be heard from time to time. But at these telecasts there was almost complete silence, which denoted very close attention".

Smoking is allowed, and some leaders say that cigarettes are definite indications of approval or disapproval. "Judging by the small number of cigarette-ends found in the classroom and by the silence that prevailed during the telecast" wrote the Cramaille club leader on the first showing of "Etat d'urgence", "this programme pleased viewers very much. When they don't enjoy a show there are many more cigarette-ends, for the same number of spectators". The audience thus makes itself felt as a particularly strong contribution to the atmosphere of a tele-club, the spectators remaining aware of themselves and of their neighbours, whom they know well. Even when a feature film is being telecast, the tele-club does not engender that sense of entranced isolation almost "hypnotic", into which an audience is plunged in the cinema where there is no communication—even silent—between neighbours. In this respect the reactions of tele-club viewers are more like those of a theatre audience; the

constant and active awareness of companionship is part of the attraction that these broadcasts have for the spectators.

DISCUSSIONS AFTER TELECASTS

The tele-clubs all began merely as groups assembled for collective viewing. When the programme ended, at about 11 o'clock, the audience went straight home to bed. Any discussion was sporadic; the teacher, afraid of tiring and discouraging the spectators, as a rule made no attempt to organize it as a regular feature. When those in charge of the survey suggested to the leaders that they might ask their clubmembers to discuss the "Etat d'urgence" broadcasts, many of them wondered whether the country-people, usually so taciturn and suspicious, would venture to speak—whether any type of discussion would prove possible, apart from the spontaneous expression of opinions which takes place in a friend's house, in the marketplace or a café. In most of the clubs this was the first time spectators had ever been asked to join in a real debate, to answer questions and give their views in public, in front of their friends, neighbours, wives and children. Yet, here again, the results exceeded the highest expectations. "Which shows" adds one leader "that it is just a matter of finding the right subject." In other words, the lack of discussion was due chiefly to timidity on the part of leaders and audiences alike. The leaders had had no opportunity of studying the teaching methods by which such debates should be guided. It had not even occurred to them that their own experience needed to be supplemented by a study of educational methods applicable to tele-clubs. Moreover, since none of the French television programmes touched on matters affecting the work or social life of countryfolk, they had so far had no opportunity of initiating discussion on any subject connected with everyday life in rural districts.

Some leaders cannot always prevent a discussion from trailing off into disconnected chatter which follows no plan, reaches no conclusions, and towards midnight just fades out. Others—more numerous—come up against the opposite difficulty. Accustomed, as schoolteachers, to hold forth on their own, they talk far too much, and anticipate the reactions and replies of their group. A teacher's

response is nearly always more prompt than a farmer's; a skilled educationist will therefore take care to fit the pace of the discussion to the mentality of the audience, not to his own. Even the way in which questions are put may rob the replies of their spontaneity. Respect for the teacher is such that few people will venture to differ from him, if he badly expresses his opinion before ascertaining theirs. Neither will it do to put the questions in such a way that they must be answered by a mere yes or no—"Are you in favour of such-and-such a thing?" For here the reply will simply be a mechanical one. Besides, the reasons for a choice are much more interesting than the choice itself, and public explanation of them is of greater educational value, since it obliges the speaker to observe, form an opinion and present his arguments.

Given favourable circumstances, however, discussion really does stimulate the audience. The expression of ideas is no longer reserved for a bold minority, always the same, who tend to monopolize the debate; it spreads to the majority, or at least to a substantial proportion of the spectators. There is then a possibility that after the debate, after the discussions which continue during the following days—whenever the ordinary circumstances of work and leisure permit—new attitudes may emerge. Telecasts, as widely varied in character as a piece of scientific reporting and the presentation of an artistic masterpiece, may point the way to a form of cultural development that meets the needs and satisfies the aspirations of each individual and each group. Discussion may help viewers to gain a better understanding of their surroundings; may awaken their desire to cultivate their minds, and enable them to develop their gift for self-expression.

The form of the debate will vary, of course, according to the quality and subject of the telecast—whether it be a film, a variety show, a play or an outside broadcast. The principles by which the most successful leaders and their assistants are guided may, however, be summed up as follows:

1. Help the audience to formulate the impressions they have actually felt but cannot at first put clearly into words. The leader must be careful not to pass too quickly to final judgments and general ideas, because then the most talkative and best educated will "put off" the others, those who keep quiet but think all the same; and the latter, feeling embarrassed and humi-

liated, will go away and never come back. The least-educated must be helped and guided with special attention and sympathy, though encouragement must never take the form of suggestion or be given in a patronizing tone.

2. Steer forward the audience's reflections on the broadcast in a natural, gradual way: list and classify their impressions and afterwads compare these with other impressions resulting in other circumstances from other telecasts—finally assessing or if possible measuring them, using a scale of judgments commensurate with the ways of thought of the audience concerned, such as: exceptional, very good, good, average, bad, very bad.
3. Discussions develop the participants' critical faculties and their powers of self-expression.
4. Last but not least, exceptional skill will be required if these debates and discussions are to have any practical effect on everyday behaviour, whether in work, recreation, home life or the activities of the local community.[1] In this way an amusing and well-conducted discussion may constitute a veritable mental training for tele-club members.

Later, when dealing with the "Etat d'urgence" broadcasts, we shall consider the problem of the frequency and nature of members' participation in these discussions. But it can already be said that the leaders' statements almost all agree in this—despite the fact that differences of temperament exist between the populations of the different villages and between the social structures of the various tele-clubs—that viewers who were regarded as hopelessly shy have plucked up courage to speak and have developed their powers of expression. Thanks to their newly-acquired boldness, they have begun to take a greater share in the general affairs of the tele-club. This has enhanced the vitality of the group as a whole, and increased the number of active members.

1. See Appendix IV: Plan and guide for discussion of the various types of telecast.

V. Importance of tele-clubs

TELEVISION AND CINEMA

As we have seen, the French tele-clubs owe their inception to the crisis of the 16 mm commercial and non-commercial cinema. After they had been operating for four years, we felt that it would be interesting to try to discover how tele-club audiences regarded the cinema as compared with television. It might perhaps have been thought that televiewers would look upon the tele-club as an attempt to make a virtue of necessity, and as something inferior, to the cine-club. But no less than 73 per cent of those questioned express the opinion that it is better for their association to work with television than with the cinema; 24 per cent are unable to decide; but their hesitation is quite natural, for most of them are members of tele-clubs such as those at Venteuil and Châtillon, where reception has constantly suffered from interference, the causes of which we have already mentioned. The most important point to stress is that even in these unlucky villages, despite these drawbacks, only 3 per cent of replies were uncompromisingly in favour of the cinema.

Still more important is, we feel, the estimate of the advantages and drawbacks which the audiences find in cinema or television respectively. The two great qualities which television is considered to possess are: Its programmes ("Programmes are wider and more varied . . . television covers a tremendous field . . ."). Its operating costs ("The tele-clubs are less expensive to run"). These two advantages are mentioned by twice as many people as those who advance the advantages connected with the cinema (77 votes to 31).

The two chief advantages of the cinema, on the other hand, may be summed up in two sentences: the cinema shows a clearer picture, less tiring to the eye; the cinema has a larger screen.

Its two chief merits, therefore, are of a purely technical nature.

The televiewers thus show that they are quite able to weigh the cultural and financial advantages of group television—even with the 441-line definition—against the technical advantages of the cinema. Despite present technical shorcomings, tele-club audiences, after four years'

experience, have developed a strong sense of the possibilities which this medium offers for their entertainment or cultural development. They feel that its potentialities are boundless, compared not only with those of the cinema, but with those of any other means hitherto available for widening the horizon of daily life in the villages. "Television covers a tremendous field. . . ." The tele-club is at once an information centre, a window on the outside world, a source of knowledge on all kinds of practical subjects, a place where readings can be given, and a theatrical auditorium, concert-hall or cinema.

DOMESTIC AND GROUP TELEVISION

Before concluding these remarks on the importance of tele-clubs, we should consider whether these clubs, which show a tendency to expand even further than the cine-clubs, do not constitute a merely transient phenomenon, soon to be superseded by domestic television. Or whether, on the contrary, they reflect an economic situation which may persist for a long time, and satisfy certain permanent needs and aspirations in popular education. These are key problems which affect the direction to be followed by television in its educational and general policy, and by adult education as a whole.

Three direct and simple questions were put to viewers.

Question 1. "Would you like to have a television set in your own home one day?"

Out of 225 persons questioned, 198 replied: 20 per cent of them said no, 68 per cent yes. Most of the negative replies came from small farmers burdened with work. Their reasons were as follows (in order of frequency): 1. The fear that television might steal time from work, for which the whole day is not too much. 2. Refusal to spend so much money on a luxury. "It's too expensive." 3. Some people, not only small farmers but workmen and office workers as well—especially the younger ones—prefer group viewing. It gives them a chance, while watching the telecasts, to escape from their family circle and meet friends of their own age. "I prefer the tele-club." But the great majority of persons questioned dream of having their own television set one day.

This statement requires some amplification. To begin

with, regular attendance at the tele-club usually makes short work of the prejudices which still cause certain sections of the public to hestitate about buying a set. This observation is all the more significant when we remember that one of the arguments most frequently put forward by opponents of television is that "it isn't good enough yet, watching strains one's eyes". As we have seen, several tele-clubs still have 441-line sets, and therefore receive a poor-quality picture; breakdowns are also far more frequent than with the 819-line equipment. Yet despite these disadvantages a large majority of the people who attend collective telecasts are in favour of television.

On this point there is no noticeable difference between the reactions of the various social classes; the agricultural and non-agricultural workers express the same wishes. Television seems to exert its attraction irrespective of social distinctions, at any rate within the tele-club public itself.

The 68 per cent who responded favourably to the idea of one day buying a private set may be classified according to the reasons they gave: 1. It is a "home entertainment" to be switched on or off at will. "It's a home variety show." It's like having one's own cinema." 2. Much less numerous are replies which refer to the unpleasantness of going out in the cold, of walking, sometimes for long distances, in all sorts of weather, along muddy lanes. This reason is however often given in replies from elderly people. "In winter it's too cold to go out." 3. A few replies mention the rather uncomfortable conditions in most of the classrooms where the tele-clubs operate, as compared with cinema, etc. "The chairs aren't so hard at home", "It's more comfortable at home".

At Coudray St. Germer, five farmers have bought or ordered television sets since the tele-club was founded in 1953.[1]

Does this mean that the only function of the tele-clubs is to help to spread individual and family viewing? That result would in itself be valuable, in a country where more than 36,000 out of 38,000 communes are too small to have their own television shop.

Question 2. "If you were to find yourself with an extra

1. The same thing has happened in other villages, where the tele-club has often been the indirect cause of such purchases.

150,000 francs in hand next year, would you buy a television set?"

Of the 225 persons questioned, 195 replied, 34 per cent saying yes and 53 per cent no. A majority of those who would be prepared to buy a set were employed otherwise than in agriculture (a significant point); whereas among those who would not make such a purchase even if they had an unexpected balance on hand, there was a clear majority of agriculturists, and chiefly of small farmers.

We felt it would be interesting to supplement this question by another which would help us to discover the place occupied by a television set on the lists of purchases contemplated by individual members of club audiences.

Question 2 (a). "If not, what would you buy instead of, or sooner than, a television set?"

Replies, in order of frequency:

1. Means of transport (33 per cent): motor-cycle, car, motor-scooter.
2. Modern household equipment (27 per cent): washing-machine, "household equipment", refrigerator, central heating, shower-bath.
3. Basic household equipment (23 per cent)): repairs to the house, "interior alterations", bedroom furniture, "furniture, so as to get married", dining-room furniture, linen, "something for my wife", etc.
4. Miscellaneous (17 per cent): farm equipment, "moving into a house", paying off debts, "travelling in Europe".

The above table has the advantage of showing exactly what the majority of our televiewers feel they need more urgently than a television set. The conclusion which emerges is that the decision to buy such a set is governed by the general living standard of the household. It may therefore be expected that in France, and more still in countries with a yet lower standard of living, the tele-club will long continue to provide a majority of people with their only chance of enjoying telecasts. If we are to believe what the economists forecast regarding the improvement in living standards,[1] it is unlikely that the average French household will possess a television set even in 1970. The purchase of a set is considered to have its place in the section of family expenditure which it is customary to

1. *La Civilisation de 1970*, by J. Fourastié. Paris, Presses universitaires, 1954.

enter under "miscellaneous"—money spent on luxuries or recreations. And this section is governed by a law which was long ago discovered by the economists: the sum allocated to "miscellaneous" expenditure cannot be increased until the section "food", "clothing", "housing" and "health" have received about as much as they can absorb. We may therefore safely assert that group viewing in its various forms, will long remain, in the majority of countries, the only means of bringing television within reach of the general public, and especially of the country public. But does the tele-club merely satisfy an economic necessity?

Question 3. "If you had a television set at home, would you still like going to the club?"

Of the 174 replies, 25 per cent said no and 75 per cent yes. The value of the replies is subject to the same limits as that of the question: we have no definite evidence to show whether the members of a tele-club would really continue attending the group programmes once they had their own sets. Those who already own private sets do not seem to come any longer, but the number of such private owners is as yet very small.

It is also possible that the wish to "please" the leader had some share in determining the replies, since these called for a great effort of imagination from people who cannot at present even contemplate such expenditure. However, the fact that the replies were anonymous was some guarantee of sincerity; and further proof that this question was taken seriously was, we feel, provided by the fact that the replies did not yield the 5 to 10 per cent ironical comments usually called forth by this type of survey in France (there were no such comments, in fact).

The 25 per cent of negative answers came: from small farmers; from small employees. The reason most frequently given was a devotion to home life: "Then we would be able to watch and listen quietly at home." A policeman explains that "Then I shall be able to get at home all the entertainment I get from the tele-club". In only one instance did the answer seem to be prompted by hostility or failure of self-adaptation to tele-club life: "Because the tele-club isn't nice." Among the 75 per cent of favourable replies, those from workers, both agricultural and non-agricultural were proportionately the most numerous, but the actual majority was made up by the small farmers and wine-growers.

What are the grounds for continuing the tele-club even after the individual households have been equipped with receiving sets? Information on this point is gained from replies to a subsidiary question, "When and why would you continue to visit the tele-club?" The following, in order of preference, are the reasons given:

1. Because of the debates. "To discuss interesting programmes."
2. To take part in meetings. "So as not to be alone", "So as to get together with friends and work-mates" (reply from a wine-grower).
3. As a reason for an outing. "So as to get out", especially on Sunday afternoon or evening.
4. For the pleasure of watching a performance. "Because it's like going to a show", or "To get the cinema atmosphere now and then" (a clerk).
5. For various reasons (the least numerous). "To see the programmes when my own set is out of order"; "From a wish to support the school cultural association"; "To help the children's friendly society" (to which the tele-club receipts are given); or sometimes, as in the case of an SNCF [1] fitter, "Whenever the tele-club needs me".

VI. Conclusions

It will be realized from all the foregoing that the rural tele-club is a new type of adult education institution. Having usually come into existence as a co-operative, formed for the group purchase of a receiving set, it is an association in the most precise meaning of the word. It meets a social need, and is fully representative of all categories of the local population. It acts as an incentive to the purchase of private sets. The spectators come to it not only to enjoy the programmes but for the sake of other group activities as well.

This new type of group organization seems to have a greater power of attraction than certain older associations. In country districts it seems to exert a stronger pull than the cine-club. Everywhere it is reaching new sections of

1. French national railways.

the people, and in cases where it is operated as part of an established out-of-school or after-school association it has stimulated interest in the latter. Its cultural potentialities are considerable, but these cannot be fully developed until premises have been made more comfortable and leaders given more thorough and specialized training. However, the tele-club already provides a setting conducive to social intercourse and general self-expression by its friendly unconstrained atmosphere and the nature of the subjects debated there. It can help to remedy the loneliness which often afflicts country people. It shows Paris productions to the countryfolk and offers an effective means of widening the horizons of village life.

So sudden an expansion of the village outlook raises many problems which must be solved if the daily life of the individual is not to be thrown out of gear, and if there is to be a genuine, and not merely apparent integration of country life into modern civilization. It is still too early, to reply to these questions. We must consider the French television programmes in greater detail and discover which, to judge by response from the tele-clubs, are the most popular programmes and what cultural possibilities they offer.

PART TWO

Television's cultural possibilities

In the light of audience reactions

Typical programmes received in the tele-club :

(Photos: Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française.)

VARIETY PERFORMANCES. These take up 20 per cent of the broadcasting time of Télévision Française. Those given on tele-club "nights" are:

Circus: the Cirque d'Hiver, the Cirque Bouglione or the Cirque Fanny are shown in full, with their elephants, horses, wild beasts, acrobats, trapeze artists, jugglers or tightrope walkers, and their clowns, the most famous of whom is Zavatta. This programme is produced by Gilles Margaritis.

Music-hall: given fortnightly, on Wednesday evenings. The best performers to be seen in Paris in this line—dancers, singers, conjurors, performers in "sketches", etc.—are presented in turn. The programme is relayed from a big Paris theatre: the Ambassadeurs. At one point, when the "Chester Follies" took the stage, it became extremely comic. This revue has been put on with great success at the A.B.C., in the Cirque Médrano, and in a cabaret.

FILMS. These make up about 20 per cent of the programmes of Télévision Française. Feature films are televised every Sunday afternoon and evening. They vary considerably in quality, but masterpieces are very much more frequent than second-rate films. The best French productions of recent years are televised whenever commercial contracts allow of this.

A vous de juger (you're the judge) is a weekly programme lasting an hour and presenting lengthy extracts from the most striking—or least mediocre—of the films released in France during the week.

La vie des animaux (animal life) is put together from shots out of documentary films dealing with some aspect of animal life, and lasts about half an hour. Subjects have included "The life of sea animals", "From dawn to midnight in the Polar lakes", "Man as the friend of animals", etc.

PLAYS. These take up 10 per cent of viewing time. The chief programme is given every Saturday evening, and presents a play acted in the television studio. *Le Figurant de la Gaieté* by Alfred Savoir, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* by Paul Claudel, *Le Complexe de Philémon* by J.-B. Luc, *Volpone* by Ben Jonson, etc.

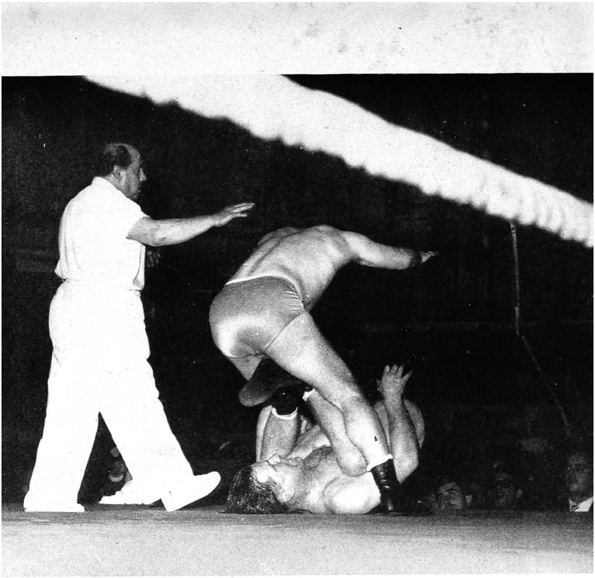
Volpone.

Interview with an author.

LITERARY ITEMS. These are confined to one long programme, *Lectures pour tous* (reading for all), given once a week, and lasting an hour. The aim is to present a few of the best recent books. The programme usually includes a brief interview with the author, who is asked about his books, his working methods, the countries he has visited, etc. Sometimes a few pages are read aloud, or a film bearing on the same subject—for instance, if the book deals with exploration—is shown. The producers are Pierre Desgraupes and Pierre Dumayet.

PRACTICAL PROGRAMMES. These account for about 10 per cent of the total. The *Club des Inventeurs* (inventors' club) presents the latest inventions and their inventors. This programme does not fall on any of the tele-club's days. The *Magazine féminin* (woman's magazine), however, is regularly viewed. It gives household tips (sometimes accompanied by demonstrations) and information of a more general character about women's work. Here, for example, is one programme: Cooking (queue de bœuf à la parisienne); cutting-out (a bed jacket); women's jobs (the Red Cross School, mechanotherapy); fashion (the latest jewellery).

"Mr. X's recipes."



News. This accounts for 20 per cent of the total programme time. In addition to *Télé-Paris*, which does not come within the tele-club hours, there is the *Journal télévisé* (televised news), giving three times a day the latest news in sport, culture, social life and politics, from France and abroad. The *Magazine du Temps Passé* (magazine of past events) is given every Sunday evening and consists of newsreels taken during the corresponding week, 20 years previously.

Outside Broadcasts and Documentaries, whether live or film reports, make up about 15 per cent of the programmes.

The *Magazine des Explorateurs* (explorers' magazine) is a monthly feature in which many French specialists co-operate. An explorer is interviewed in the studio for an hour, and talks about his travels and about the finds or films he has brought back. Joseph Petit, for instance, described the Hoggar expedition, Alain Bombard told how he had lived on plankton when aboard his raft, etc.

Voyage sans passeport (travel without a passport) consists of short documentary films with a tourist slant, giving, to the accompaniment of a commentary, glimpses of foreign countries—Sicily, the Medinas at Fez, a weekend in Canada, some Italian towns, Pakistan, etc.

Every week all tele-clubs receive sports programmes, some of which are "live" telecasts—all-in wrestling matches, the Six Day bicycle race, the 24 hour motor race at Le Mans, athletic contests, the "Tour de France" cycle race, etc.

Reports of political and social events periodically enable the public to participate in world events, such as the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, the election of the President of the French Republic, etc.

(Photos Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, taken off the tube.)

I. The problem

What are we to understand by the "cultural possibilities" of television broadcasts? A didactic view of educational television is held in some quarters—an inacceptable point of view because not taking account of all the subjects and techniques available for the education of the public through television. We chose another starting point. Televiewing is first and foremost a leisure-time occupation: the extent to which it can be used for cultural purposes, and the bounds to be set to such use, must therefore be determined by reference to the main purposes of leisure. Of these there are three: to bring relaxation after the fatigues of every-day work; to provide entertainment, and take the mind off that work for a short while; and to help to develop the personality, by showing people how to cope more satisfactorily with the problems of their daily lives. These closely interrelated functions constitute a response to certain fundamental needs. A weekly programme should allow scope for all of them. There should be some measure of each in every evening's telecast; otherwise the audience will be fatigued or bored. We will now consider in all the various types of telecast included in one week's or one evening's programme, see which are the most popular, and conclude by analysing the possibilities they offer for an educational use of television in the widest sense of the term. Such a use implies that the programmes must, as a whole, be such as to induce what we have called "active attitudes" in the spectators. A wide variety of methods may contribute to this education by television—the demonstration of a process or recipe, the systematic provision of information, the illustration of some important problem by means of artistic techniques, the description of some great discovery or the presentation of a masterpiece. We are thus adopting a very elastic interpretation of television's cultural possibilities.

A study of the attitudes adopted by tele-club audiences towards such programmes is important. For these audiences are in no way selective; consisting chiefly of factory workers and small farmers, and being completely representative of a country such as France. The foremost purpose of popular education is undoubtedly to raise the cultural level of this type of public (more than 85 per cent of whose members have had only a primary education) among whom, moreover, the future purchasers of television sets are likely to be found, when the price is eventually reduced to meet their pockets. Thus, owing to its social structure, the tele-club public constitutes the public of the future for television. Furthermore, it is grouped in clubs, whose members attend primarily for entertainment, but which also offer them a change of atmosphere—the opportunity for discussions—and help in developing their personalities. These people probably reveal, by their attitudes, a cultural level slightly higher than that of members of the corresponding social categories who do not belong to such associations. The level reached in the tele-clubs may therefore set a standard of comparison for any organizer who wishes to please a wide public and at the same time seeks to raise its cultural standards.

But how are we to decide what is the cultural level to which one must address oneself? Audience mail tells us only the reaction of those few who are in the the habit of writing: but hardly 6 per cent of televiewers in France write to Radiodiffusion-Télévision. Public opinion polls indicate only the average opinion in the different social categories. And it would be rash to rely on the opinions of the critics, who have all had a secondary education and have a "Parisian" culture.

II. Popularity of different programmes with televiewers

As already explained, the tele-clubs receive programmes normally on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays. We have confined our survey to the telecasts received on those evenings—with the one exception of "Trente-six chandelles" (thirty-six candles), a fortnightly broadcast which attracts

a substantial audience, although given on Mondays. All these productions, regularly viewed in our tele-clubs, add up to a total of about 12 hours out of the 40 hours' weekly activity of Télévision française—in other words, to about 30 per cent of the programmes. They cover all the chief types: variety, films, plays, literary programmes, practical subjects, news reportages, documentaries . . . . It may be said that the items generally received in our tele-clubs provide typical, though incomplete, samples of the programmes as a whole.

Certain of these typical programmes are presented through pictures and comments in the illustrated pages at the head of this section, and the viewers' opinions of these programmes are analysed in the following pages.

We shall not deal here with the special type of "documentary" represented by "Etat d'urgence", as we shall be giving later on (Part Three) a detailed analysis of this series, which was devoted to the main current problems of rural life.

Number of those who approved or disapproved—average approval or disapproval, for the public as a whole. We began by trying to find out how many people liked a particular programme and how many disliked it. For, summary as this division may seem, it corresponds to the way in which most opinions are expressed in the tele-clubs themselves.

We found that the three higest marks, 6, 5 and 4,[1] expressed clear approval, and that disapproval really began with mark 3. We therefore grouped together the three highest marks, and again the three lowest, in order to discover the total number of "approvers" and "disapprovers" respectively. We assessed the strength of both reactions by taking an average of the marks which were "for" and of those which were "against".

Abstention in respect of programmes which are regularly received is probably most often equivalent to disapproval. The most definite example of this was the case of "Lectures pour tous". This was the only programme which called

1. Instructions to the televiewers were "Mark the following programmes from 1 to 6; if there are any you have never seen, or do not know well enough, put an x against them". 6 means exceptional approval (outstanding); 5 strong approval (very good); 4 approval (good); 3 uncertainty (neither approval nor disapproval) (average); 2 disapproval; 1 strong disapproval.

forth much more dislike than approval, and as to which, in addition, an unusual number of people abstained from replying.

Variations in expressions of approval according to employment, sex and age. We began by calculating averages because they gave the best reflection of the referendum system in the tele-clubs and of the teachers' ways of thinking. However, as most programmes were awarded strong or even very strong approval, it was not easy to make any closer analysis of the varying reactions among the main categories of spectator. It was therefore necessary to devise some more sensitive method of recording, assessing and comparing the different trends revealed by the experiment.

We consequently decided to convert the marks of the questionnaire into indices instead of averages. The figures thus obtained will not give a direct picture to the reader, but they serve to indicate certain relative differences between the trends of the various groups.[1] We can then apply the theory of probability to these differences as revealed within our sample, in order to discover in what cases they have general validity, with less than a 10 per cent risk of error (significant differences) or less than 5 per cent (highly significant differences).

We confined ourselves to studying the indices of approval because it was only by comparing these that we could arrive at interesting conclusions, capable of statistical expression, regarding opinion among tele-club audiences—which as we have already said, is on the whole favourable to the telecasts.

VARIETY PROGRAMMES

These gained the highest marks of all: 78 to 92.5 per cent of televiewers expressed very strong approval of the music hall and circus programmes, and of "Trente-six chandelles". Greater enthusiasm for the circus was shown by farm labourers and other workers, and particularly by small farmers (a highly significant difference), than by non-manual workers.

1. Notes on Methods, Calculation of the positive and negative indices of programme appraisal.

The same observation applies to men and women between 25 and 34 years old, who are keener on horses and acrobats than are the members of the age-groups immediately below and above. It would perhaps be an over simplification to attribute this marked preference for circus items on the part of our public to a mere hankering after superficial enjoyment. We shall refer to this again later.

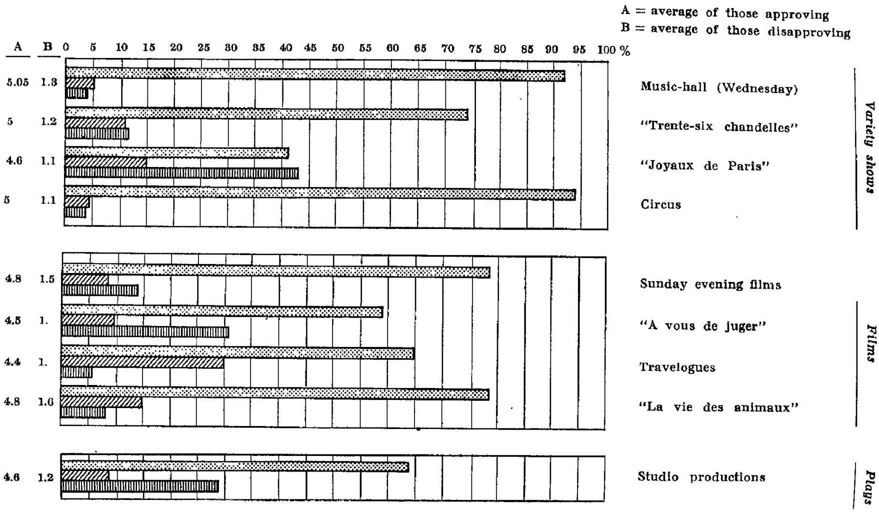
FILMS

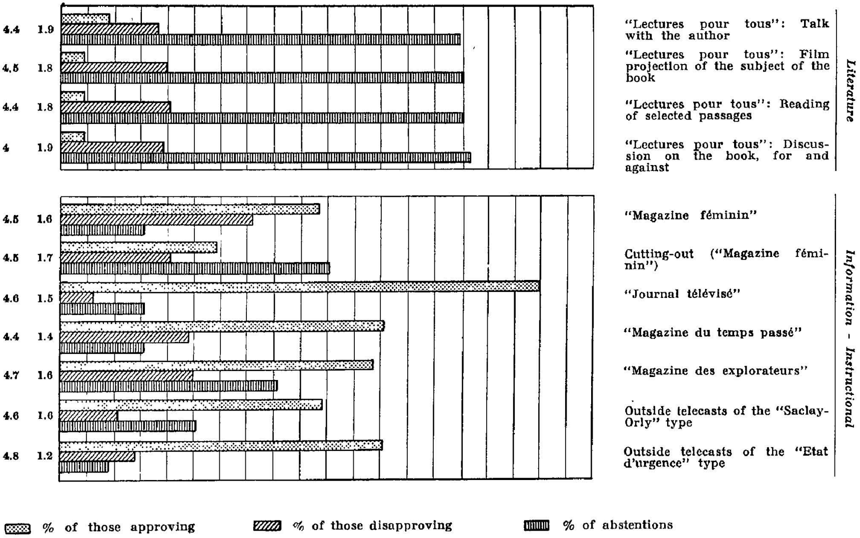
The feature films shown on Sundays tie with "Trente-six chandelles" as regards percentage and average of approval; about 80 per cent of the replies express a liking for these programmes. In fact there is less disapproval shown for the feature films than for most of the variety programmes, though many people complain that they are old releases. As for the sequences from recent films, given in "A vous de juger", they are approved by about 60 per cent, although unsophisticated audiences usually dislike extracts and incomplete works.

What about documentaries, generally reputed to be tedious? The French documentaries, with travellers to present and explain them, are approved by over 60 per cent of televiewers, with an average of 4.5 marks. The series of composite documentaries on animal life was, indeed, approved by as many viewers, and marked as highly, as the Sunday evening feature films!

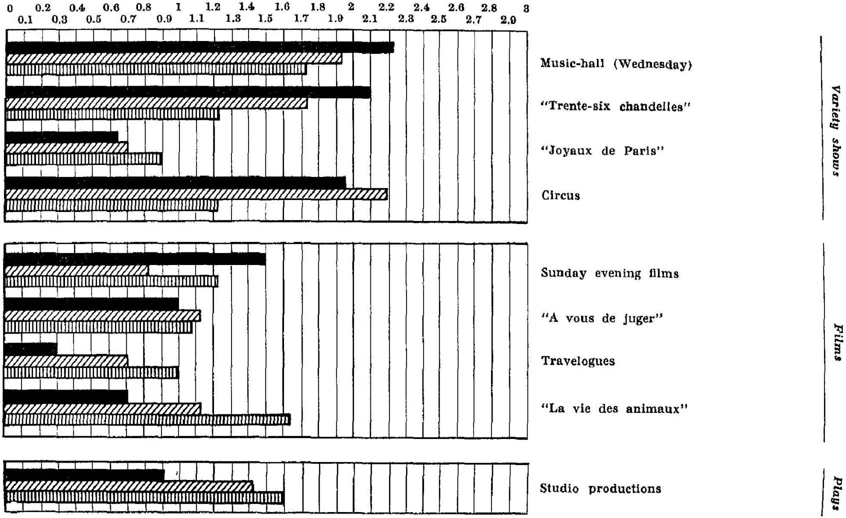
Films are more popular with farm labourers and other workers than with small farmers. Documentaries about animals appeal more to women than to men; but there is no reason to regard any of these differences as significant, except in so far as non-manual workers show a marked predilection for such documentaries (highly significant difference). These first results are already enough to give some ideas of the vast possibilities for the use of the cinema in television—whether feature films, extracts from films, or certain documentaries or composite documentaries. Later on, however, we shall be giving a more detailed analysis of the many possibilities offered by films. Much is to be inferred from the fact that an ordinary documentary, with no plot or "trimmings", can prove as attractive to televiewers as a feature film or a variety programme of such established popularity as "Trente-six chandelles".

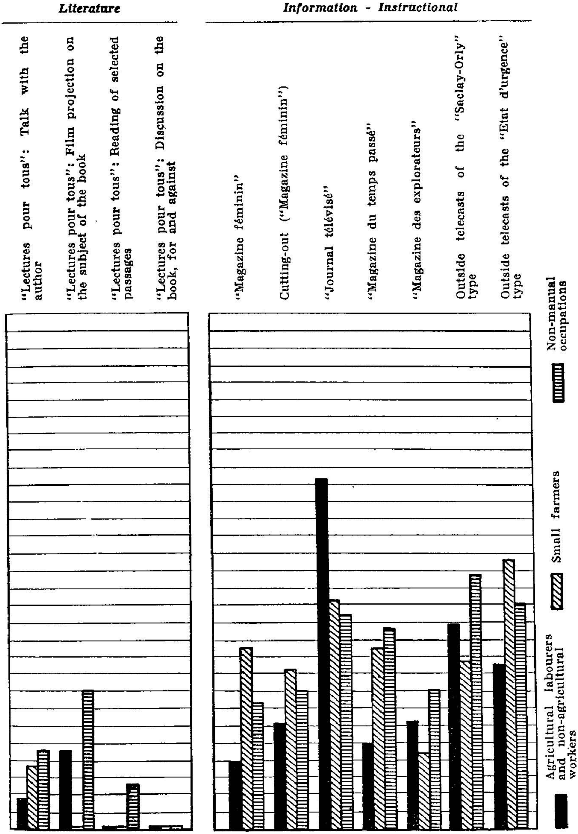
Graph 2. PROGRAMMES: PERCENTAGE OF THOSE APPROVING AND DISAPPROVING; AVERAGE OF THOSE APPROVING AND DISAPPROVING



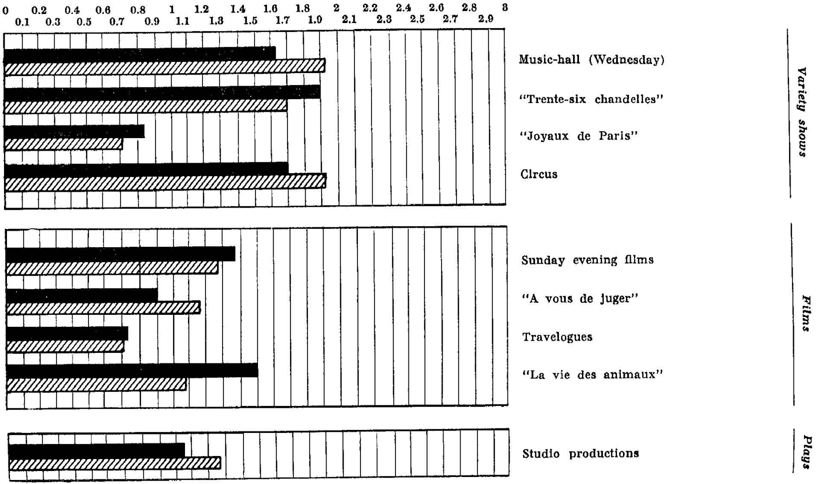

Literature
4.4 1.9 "Lectures pour tous": Talk with the author
4.5 1.8 "Lectures pour tous": Film projection of the subject of the book
4.4 1.8 "Lectures pour tous": Reading of selected passages
4 1.9 "Lectures pour tous": Discussion on the book, for and against
Information - Instructional
4.5 1.6 "Magazine féminin"
4.5 1.7 Cutting-out ("Magazine féminin")
4.6 1.5 "Journal télévisé"
4.4 1.4 "Magazine du temps passé"
4.7 1.6 "Magazine des explorateurs"
4.6 1.6 Outside telecasts of the "Saclay-Orly" type
4.8 1.2 Outside telecasts of the "Etat d'urgence" type
% of those approving
% of those disapproving
% of abstentions

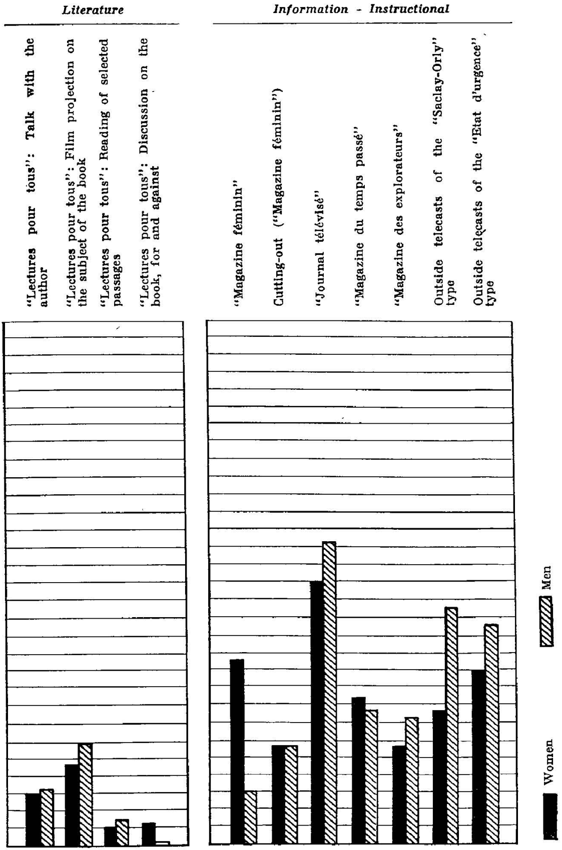
Graph 3. INDICES OF APPROVAL ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION



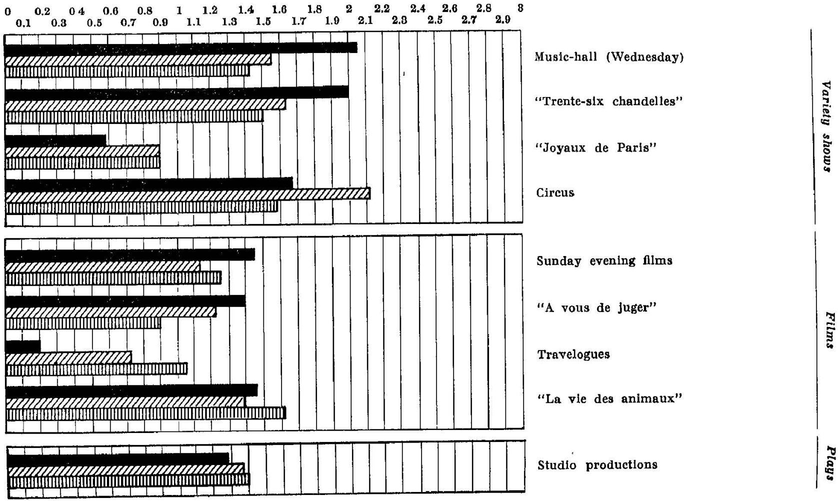

Literature
Information - Instructional
"Lectures pour tous": Talk with the author
"Lectures pour tous": Film projection on the subject of the book
"Lectures pour tous": Reading of selected passages
"Lectures pour tous": Discussion on the book, for and against
"Magazine féminin"
Cutting-out ("Magazine féminin")
"Journal télévisé"
"Magazine du temps passé"
"Magazine des explorateurs"
Outside telecasts of the "Saclay-Orly" type
Outside telecasts of the "Etat d'urgence" type
Agricultural labourers and non-agricultural workers
Small farmers
Non-manual occupations

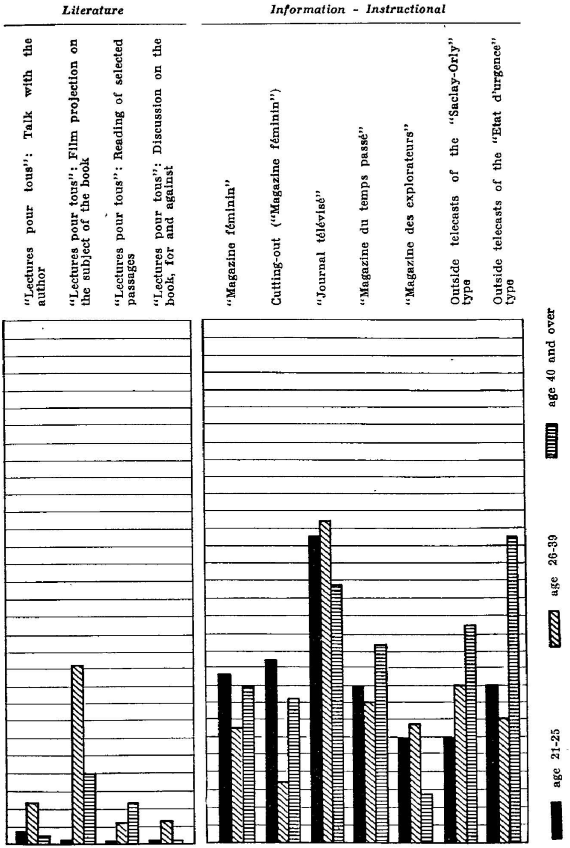
Graph 4. INDICES OF APPROVAL ACCORDING TO SEX




Literature
Information - Instructional
"Lectures pour tous": Talk with the author
"Lectures pour tous": Film projection on the subject of the book
"Lectures pour tous": Reading of selected passages
"Lectures pour tous": Discussion on the book, for and against
"Magazine féminin"
Cutting-out ("Magazine féminin")
"Journal télévisé"
"Magazine du temps passé"
"Magazine des explorateurs"
Outside telecasts of the "Saclay-Orly" type
Outside telecasts of the "Etat d'urgence" type
Women
Men

Graph 5. INDICES OF APPROVAL ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP




Literature
Information - Instructional
"Lectures pour tous": Talk with the author
"Lectures pour tous": Film projection on the subject of the book
"Lectures pour tous": Reading of selected passages
"Lectures pour tous": Discussion on the book, for and against
"Magazine féminin"
Cutting-out ("Magazine féminin")
"Journal télévisé"
"Magazine du temps passé"
"Magazine des explorateurs"
Outside telecasts of the "Saclay-Orly" type
Outside telecasts of the "Etat d'urgence" type
age 21-25
age 26-39
age 40 and over

PLAYS

As everyone knows, the growing success of the cinema has been causing great difficulties for the theatre during the past twenty years or so. In France theatrical activity is almost entirely confined to Paris, and has no deep roots among the general public—despite the pertinacious efforts of a few distinguished producers during the last few years. However, more than 60 per cent of televiewers express strong approval (4.67 marks) of studio-produced plays, while only 7 per cent dislike them. The theatre seems to appeal to women slightly more than to men, but all age-groups show much the same attitude, though manual workers are less enthusiastic than non-manual workers (a significant difference). Approval is as high, however, among small farmers as among non-manual workers.

LITERARY PROGRAMMES

These signs of strong approval are replaced, when we come to the chief literary feature, "Lectures pour tous", by evidence of almost unanimous dislike. At the request of the Programme Director of Télévision française, we took particular care with our study of opinion regarding this programme, mentioning in our questionnaire all the separate methods adopted by the producers of "Lectures pour tous"—discussion with the author, projection of a film on the same subject as the book, reading out loud of a number of selected passages, or organization of a debate "for or against".... Only between 4 per cent and 8 per cent of the viewers liked this programme, while over 20 per cent disliked it; and, as already explained, the exceptionally high proportion of those who did not reply must, in these circumstances, be regarded as indicating disapproval. Even the non-manual workers were not keen about this programme; they produced in fact the lowest index of approval. And not one of the small farmers or workmen liked it. The few favourable opinions expressed all referred to the projection of films on the same subject as a book—something which is seldom done in this programme. It thus seems evident that this feature—which has just been awarded the French Television Prize for 1954—has by no means solved the problem of popularizing reading through television, and that the title "reading for all" is far from

being justified by the actual results achieved among tele-club audiences.

PRACTICAL PROGRAMMES

The only example of this type of telecast included in the regular tele-club schedule is "Le Magazine Féminin", whose merits seem to be keenly disputed, with 48 per cent of opinion in favour and 36 per cent against; it is naturally more popular with women than with men. Only 29 per cent of viewers like the cutting-out lesson, whose appeal is too limited, while 20 per cent dislike it and over 50 per cent give no reply. Here again, as with "Lectures pour tous", the great number of abstentions indicates a certain aversion, due to the same causes and confirmed by verbal evidence. Moreover, unlike the magazine as a whole, this item is no more popular with women than with men. It is somewhat puzzling to find that these programmes, concerned with household problems, receive such a tepid welcome from the women member of the tele-clubs.

NEWS, OUTSIDE BROADCASTS

The "Journal télévisé", one of the favourite programmes, received very strong approval, comparable to that of the variety programmes, from 85 per cent of viewers. Workmen are the staunchest supporters of this daily review of current events, the non-manual workers being much less keen about it (highly significant difference). On the other hand, the review of past events, the "Magazine du temps passé", appeals less to the workmen than to the small farmers and non-manual workers (significant difference). The majority of our public, however, likes this review (61 per cent with an average of 5 marks, as against only 23 per cent of disapproval with an average of 1.5 marks). It might be well to take greater advantage of this keen interest in actual happenings. By carrying it further and deeper, programmes of this kind might add to the public's knowledge of history and geography.

The journal is, as it were, a series of outside broadcasts in brief. How do audiences respond, generally speaking, to full-length outside telecasts? Their attitude varies: a first investigation shows that reports by explorers on

distant countries, deserts or polar regions ("Magazine des Explorateurs") are not outstandingly popular. True, nearly 60 per cent of televiewers express approval of them; but 26 per cent dislike them. In this respect the non-manual workers, workmen and small farmers are more or less alike in their attitude, whether among the young people or among adults of under 40. The people over 40 years old are the strongest in their dislike.

Documentaries on social themes such as "Etat d'urgence", on the other hand, receive stronger approval and less disapproval—14 per cent as against 26 per cent. The index of approval is almost as high for women as for men, though the chief supporters are the men of over 40 (significant difference). These telecasts seem to be particularly favoured by the small farmers, though no marked difference can be perceived between their response and that of the workmen and non-manual workers. It would seem, therefore, that this type of outside telecast, devoted to a social theme, is likely to interest everybody.

As for outside telecasts which introduce viewers to a large airport such as Orly, or to an atomic laboratory such as that at Saclay, 47 per cent express strong approval, and only 11 per cent disapprove. Bearing in mind, however, that 60 per cent of viewers expressed strong approval of "Etat d'urgence" while only 14 per cent disliked it, we might be led to conclude that audiences prefer reports of this latter type; this would be confirmed by the difference between the index figures (1.22 as against 0.69). There is nothing absolute, however, about this conclusion. All that is clear at present is that televiewers take a general interest in outside telecasts, with a strong preference for reports on current events and a special interest in those dealing with social problems, such as "Etat d'urgence".

Such are our first impressions of the tastes of the tele-club members and the manner in which those tastes vary according to social category. While variety programmes are "first favourite", certain other features are very nearly as popular. Interest in these latter is not confined to professional people or to men and women who have reached a higher level of education, but is shared to some extent by all club members, irrespective of occupation, age or sex. We will now proceed to a more detailed analysis of these

judgments, in order to ascertain the cultural possibilities of *the most successful among the various types of programme.*

III. Analysis of the cultural possibilities of the most popular programmes

To do this, we had to make a further enquiry and put questions of greater difficulty to the televiewers. How were such questions to be worded, in order to keep within the members' vocabulary and range of ideas? How could we make sure of obtaining replies whieh would satisfy the varied and complex requirements of the organizer and the teacher?

We will simply give, below, the list of questions asked during this stage of our survey; as will be seen, it gives detail of the points already mentioned in the methodological introduction.[1]

1. To clarify the possibilities of certain types of programme, we began by asking the spectators which features they regarded as the most successful and which the least successful. Pleasant and unpleasant memories indicate that a feature has made a deep impression on the viewer's feelings.
2. Another indication of the effect produced by a series is to be noted from the changes in the spectators' attitude towards it as the weeks of its telecasting go by. Some programmes are not liked at first, but win approval as time goes on; and the contrary may also happen.
3. The purpose of a cultural programme is not merely to please the spectators, but to improve their taste, add to their knowledge, awaken new ideas in their minds and show them new ways of doing things. Hence our third question—which programme have, according to viewers, really brought about changes of this kind?
4. There are other signs of educational effectiveness, which relate not to the past but to the future. The wish to see some feature again often shows that it has awakened no mere passing interest, but a lasting enjoyment which will help its content to be assimilated. Unfortunately

1. See p. 25.

owing to the vogue of "the latest thing", the craze for being "up to date" and flitting from one subject to another, the television service often hesitates to repeat a feature. We asked tele-club spectators whether there was any programme they would like to see again—and if so, which?

5. We next asked them whether they had any particular wishes regarding further programmes, not in a general way, but with a view to promoting the purposes for which leisure time is intended—recreation, amusement, information, instruction, extension of general culture.
6. Finally, it is helpful to an educator to know what viewers expect from the various types of programme (roles of the programmes). But if this question had been put directly, it would have been unlikely to elicit many replies. We put it indirectly, in what seemed to us to be the most suitable form.

It was to be expected that there would be comparatively few answers to these questions, all of which were difficult, and that they would not lend themselves to full statistical analysis. The comparatively numerous abstentions cannot always be regarded as indicating disapproval or indifference, as they did in the case of the literary feature already mentioned. Only 144 people out of 225 were able to mention any film they remembered, though 213 had given marks to the film programmes as a whole. So it is evident that in this case the number of abstentions was due chiefly to the difficulty of the question and the length of the questionnaires. This is a natural reaction, especially as, the period being the middle of April, it was not always possible to have a sufficiently long talk with the persons questioned before they wrote out their replies (lack of time, an inconvenient time of year, an official census taking place at the same moment, etc.). The ideal would have been to do everything by verbal enquiry, spending if necessary, several consecutive months in the villages.

However, even the comparatively few answers we received in the short time available to us yielded results more revealing than those usually gained from a public opinion poll, and more interesting than those of the empirical examination which may be made by the educationist in the course of his professional work. We reduced the risk of hasty generalizations by ignoring the replies when there were less than 10 to any single question, by systematically cross-checking all the answers. We used only such

replies as contributed to a profitable analysis of the cultural possibilities of each type of programme. The only aim of this qualitative enquiry was to prepare hypotheses for future quantitative enquiries and to suggest certain lines which educational action might follow for the time being. The conclusions we reached by comparing and cross-checking the replies to all these questions [1] were as follows.

VARIETY PROGRAMMES

It might have been expected that in an adult education association variety programmes would gradually lose their appeal. But this does not seem to be the case. We found 14 instances where there was a decline of interest, but in 32 cases the contrary had happened with regard to "Trente-six chandelles" ("it's not so stupid as it used to be") and the circus programme ("I used to think it was just for children" said one farmer).

The pleasant memories left by variety programmes seem, however, to be rather vague. They relate, never to a particular feature, as in the case of the theatrical and film programmes, but to the type of entertainment itself. Variety is not mentioned by any televiewer who is trying to remember which features may have influenced his tastes, ideas, etc. And variety programmes are the only ones which the audience considers as being meant solely to provide "rest and recreation". So even those who enjoy them are apparently well aware of their limitations. A further interesting observation was made in connexion with the wish for new "rest and recreation" programmes. Most people took this to be an enquiry as to which of the existing programmes they would like to see more of. And here, variety items were mentioned only three times, as against 19 requests for films (chiefly comic ones). It does not look, therefore as though tele-club audiences want more variety programmes, and this impression was often confirmed in the course of conversations. In any case there is no reason to suppose that they look upon variety items as the chief purpose of television. In our opinion only one main point remains to be clarified—what underlying need gives rise to

1. See Appendix V, Tables based on questions concerning the cultural possibilities of telecasts.

this strong and widespread taste for programmes whose limitations are, it seems, apparent even to the viewers themselves?

FILMS

Our enquiry led to very different conclusions in respect of films, full-length and "shorts" alike. In the first place, feature films, like variety, leave far more pleasant memories (108) than unpleasant ones (34). But film memories are more individualized—the reference is seldom to a type of film or to an author, and nearly always to a particular title. Oral enquiry confirmed this conclusion and showed, further, that among all television programmes it is the films—their subjects, plots, acting and stars—which viewers seem to remember best.

Which films have left the best impression behind them? On the whole the masterpieces. Remembering the number of indifferent films shown in public cinemas in France (of the 2,000 films released in France since 1947, about 90 per cent have been standard products of no real value), one is astonished that the unsophisticated tele-club audiences should reveal such sound taste. Of the 17 films mentioned between 26 and 8 times, only two or three are not masterpieces, and even they are not bad: those most frequently mentioned were, in order of frequency, "La Bataille du Rail", "Rendez-vous de Juillet", "Manon", "Jour de Fête" and "La Symphonie Pastorale".

Realistic films make up a definite majority of those which are favourably remembered (realistic films are mentioned 246 times, by 61 per cent of the public, and non-realistic films 157 times by 53 per cent of the public). Workmen, both agricultural and non-agricultural, are particularly fond of realistic films, followed closely by the small farmers and, at a distance, by the non-manual workers (significant difference); 61 per cent of workmen chose realistic films, as against 48 per cent of small farmers and 25 per cent of non-manual workers. And these realistic films are either satires on everyday life, such as "Les Vacances de M. Hulot", psychosocial studies, such as "Claudine à l'Ecole", or social studies like "L'Ecole Buissonnière", "La Bataille du Rail" and "Rendez-vous de Juillet". These films not only tend to improve the taste of the audience but offer great possibilities for social education and the extension of general

culture. One wonders, however, whether full advantage is at present taken of these possibilities when these films are introduced and commented upon in the tele-clubs.

We further noted that this liking for good films is apparently durable. Not only do they arouse little opposition (4 per cent), but they are never mentioned among the programmes in respect of which there has been a variation in viewer appreciation, whether in a favourable or unfavourable sense. The cinema thus appears to be well established in the esteem of televiewers—no longer subject to fluctuations of popularity.

It is amusing to note some of the repercussions of films on daily life. The cinema was already known to influence spectators' behaviour, ideas and store of knowledge. But what is less generally realized is that, in tele-clubs, films seem to do more than anything else to promote a taste for reading—much more than a specialized literary programme such as "Lectures pour tous". The only replies to the question "Have any programmes led you to read books?" referred to theatre and cinema plots—"Clochemerle", "Fabiola" or "Le Silence de la Mer".

Finding that feature films made such a lasting impression on the memory and on daily life, we naturally wondered whether the televiewers would like to see them again. The response was clear—95 per cent of them would like to see again the films they had enjoyed at the tele-club, the cine-club, or in a public cinema. It is perhaps a mistake to suppose that an important film should be shown only once. Its influence would be enhanced by a second showing. In any case, there is a keen and widespread desire to see certain films again—136 titles were mentioned 336 times, almost the same figure as for the "most pleasant memory".

It is interesting, too, to discover that the televiewers have very sound taste: they never ask for a re-showing of televised novelettes or minor films, only for masterpieces. This confirms what we found as to the programmes which left the most pleasant recollections. Another and quite different fact also emerges—the four films most often mentioned include two pieces of social satire, "Don Camillo" and "Les Vacances de M. Hulot", and a psychological and comic trilogy by Marcel Pagnol, "Marius - Fanny - César". The desire for a second viewing of comic films with aesthetic and human interest is confirmed by the televiewers' requests concerning programmes "for rest and recreation". As already explained, variety programmes were mentioned

only three times in this connexion, whereas there were 19 mentions of films, including 11 comic films.

The cinema is always the first item to be mentioned in the replies to all questions concerning the purpose of telecasts: entertainment is sought from various types of film, but chiefly from comedies; information and general knowledge are sought from travel shorts on foreign countries; and films receive 24 mentions, as a way to familiarize viewers with famous works, as against 10 for plays and only 6 for literary works. It would therefore seem that, of all types of artistic masterpiece, those of the cinema are by far the most popular with tele-spectators.

PLAYS

It is becoming clear that television is helping to reawaken an interest in the theatre among an unsophisticated public. The provincial public knows little about the theatre, and is therefore unable to formulate requests for new plays. There is much less desire for the retransmission of plays than for that of films (12 mentions as against 136). Yet the liking for plays seems to be steadily increasing among tele-club audiences; so the Saturday evening theatrical programmes must be having a definite effect on their taste. Not one of those questioned liked the theatre less than before, while seven liked it more; the written replies themselves were too few for any observation to be based on them, but they were confirmed verbally by the leaders of certain tele-clubs. The leader of the Nesles club even went so far as to say that "televiewers first discovered the cinema at their tele-clubs, and then the theatre". In the replies to the general questionnaire, too, we find remarks such as "I've found out what the theatre is like" (a farmer); "The theatre is something quite new for us, and we could only have got to know it through television" (another farmer); "I understand plays better now" (a farm labourer); "I thought I preferred the cinema to the theatre, but now I never miss a Saturday play" (a young country schoolmaster).

Not all the plays given on television have been chosen with an eye to the susceptibilities of country folk; hence the unfavourable impressions left by some of them, which were too frivolous or too subtle—such as *Ce qu'a dit le vent d'Est* (15 times) and *L'invitation au château* by Anouilh (10 times). Even *Liliom,* though an excellent play, is men-

tioned six times as a disagreeable memory because of its subject, whose immorality was more readily perceived than its humour. Yet 91 people mentioned pleasant and 25 both pleasant and unpleasant memories, while only 3 received nothing but bad impressions. *Liliom* itself is mentioned nine times among the pleasant memories. The five plays most often mentioned include a great work by Paul Claudel, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (10 mentions); while the play which heads the list, with 43 mentions is *Volpone,* one of the masterpieces which the great producer Charles Dullin rescued from oblivion during his career. And the majority of those who enjoyed *Volpone* are small farmers and workmen.

LITERARY AND MUSICAL PROGRAMMES

As regards literary programmes, further enquiry made no change in the unfavourable attitudes we have already described, but even confirmed it in several respects. It is true that some people say they disliked this feature at first, but have grown to like it better. Yet among those in favour of dropping certain programmes, 15 mention "Lectures pour tous", which comes second, after a very "highbrow" game called "Pièces à conviction" (16 mentions). Probably therefore, this type of programme appeals only to a very limited number of French people—those whom a secondary education has left with a taste for present day literary life or for games based on learned allusions. Artistic programmes which present engravings, pictures or statues seem to make no impact whatever upon the tele-club audiences, for they are never once mentioned in the replies. Music, whether classical or light, seems, on the other hand, to please them better; and we were able to obtain verbal confirmation of the wish expressed by 15 televiewers, who thought that more television time should be given to this type of programme.

PRACTICAL PROGRAMMES

Though opinions vary greatly, there can be no doubt that the "Magazine féminin" is the favourite practical programme with tele-club audiences. In response to the question "What do you choose, or would you choose, to

add to your practical knowledge?" domestic features received 60 votes, as against 17 for "Le club des inventeurs", a programme dealing with small technical inventions. But most of the replies (53 out of a total of 57!) called for the introduction of a type of programme which has so far been little developed on French television—programmes which give an idea of different occupations and professions. This overwhelming majority indicates a latent need among tele-club members.

INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTION

The opinions expressed about news telecasts showed that our public takes a keen interest in the principal review of current events, the "Journal télévisé". The strength and extent of this interest in what is going on becomes even more apparent when we consider the "most pleasant memories" left by news programmes and outside telecasts.

Most popular of all, with 92 approving mentions, was the coronation of the Queen of England. We were told that on that day some of the tele-clubs—that at Etampes, for instance—had an audience five times the usual size. Only 20 people mentioned the telecast of President Coty's election. But the 14 expressions of "unpleasant memories" referring to the election of the President are probably all to the credit of this type of programme. For though certain viewers declared that the telecast from the Palais de Versailles ranked as their least pleasant memory, it was not because the programme itself bored them—very much the opposite ! They would have liked the election to "go with more of a swing". They remembered it unfavourably because of the Assembly's difficulty in making up a majority—eight days of voting and bargaining! This interpretation is based not merely on the reasons given for disliking the long drawn out presidential election, but upon the cross-checking of the wishes expressed for the future: of the 52 suggestions for the improvement of public affairs programmes, 31 (the majority) bear on news and 12 call specifically for the direct televising of debates in the National Assembly. Nowadays, when it is so often asserted that the man in the street takes no interest in public affairs, it is particularly important to note a trend in the tele-clubs that favours the use of television as a means of

encouraging public interest in the functioning of democratic institutions.

Next to the coronation of the Queen of England, the memory most frequently recalled is that of the report on the "Tour de France" (45 mentions). Foreigners can scarcely imagine the enthusiasm aroused by this, the chief bicycle-race of the year. It is said that more than 15 million French people have gone out of their way at least once in their lives "to watch the Tour de France go by", which makes it easy to understand why the televised report was so eagerly followed. Apart from this, 77 replies mentioned other sports features, expecially: all-in wrestling matches; the six-day cycle race; boxing matches. Sporting events have a wide appeal, and many who did not share this taste have developed it thanks to television. But has full advantage been taken of the educational possibilities offered by these features?

Turning to the "most pleasant memories", we find confirmation of the televiewers' interest in the "Journal télévisé" as a whole, to which reference has already been made. It was this series which provided 37 people with their favourite recollection in the field of television reporting. We found confirmation, too, of the satisfactory approval indices obtained by outside broadcasts on social subjects (36 mentions of the tour of Orly Airport, and 27 of "Etat d'urgence"). "Etat d'urgence" is referred to 9 times among the programmes aimed at increasing knowledge (rural problem), and takes third place on this list. However, among series whose popularity declined as they went on, "Etat d'urgence" is mentioned 13 times (as against 14 mentions of "Trente-six Chandelles"). Later on we shall discuss certain defects in this production, which may account for the fact that some televiewers tired of it.

Another point of interest to any educationist who wishes to add to his audiences' general knowledge by means of television is our viewers' feeling that the telecasts have increased their knowledge of geography more than anything else. "I've seen things I had never seen before—the sea, the Alpine meadows" writes a farm labourer, while a small farmer remarks, rather curiously "I've discovered that the Finns have faces like ours—I thought they had faces like Chinese". Of the 58 people who replied, 31 say they have learnt more geography, while 18 mention "scientific knowledge". Reporting, with or without a film, seems to be the best means of conveying knowledge of this kind,

which is often fairly detailed. Our audiences like live telecasts. They also like the telecinema. These distinctions, while useful to specialists, do not always mean very much to the ordinary spectator, as we shall see more clearly when we come to the opinions expressed about "Etat d'urgence". For the moment we must not forget that we have confined ourselves to describing and commenting upon the tele-club members' answers to certain difficult questions, which will help us to gain a clearer view of the cultural possibilities of the various types of telecast and to draw some provisional conclusions as to the right direction for future programmes. We will therefore conclude this second part of our survey with a few practical suggestions which may serve as hypotheses on which to base future experimental telecasts, aimed at encouraging active attitudes among the general public.

IV. Suggestions

Our enquiry into the reactions of rural tele-club audiences to the programmes of Television française showed us, in the first place, the potential extent of television's contribution to culture. Certain purely didactic claims on behalf of "educational television", reveal an ignorance of the needs of our village manual workers in regard to leisure time occupation. It should be borne in mind that even the organized tele-club public, guided by skilled educationists and with over four years' experience of television, still prefers variety programmes—in other words, sheer entertainment—to anything else.

Before taking up arms against such "shallow taste", it would be well to consider which of the worker's needs is reflected in this fondness for recreational programmes. As we have seen, the tele-club has become an established feature in the life of the community; group viewing adapts itself well to local habits and the demands of everyday work. And it is the needs and obligations of daily life that account for the general popularity of recreational programmes. It is these programmes which best fulfil the two chief functions of leisure, to which we have already referred. In the first place, they provide relaxation: "The programmes are very suitable for their purpose, which is

to amuse without tiring" says a farmer's wife; and a workman explains "I like the Wednesday music hall programme very much, because it gets rid of the mid-week tired feeling". Unlike lectures or big films, they do not require concentration, or even sustained attention. "They are lively, because they're varied"; "They have rhythm". The turns are short; they follow in quick succession; there is always something new, and often surprising, to catch the attention.

In the second place, these programmes provide diversion. "It does everyone good to have a change of ideas." Farm work is strenuous, produce is not selling well, so people look to the tele-club to cheer and amuse them. "When I come to watch television it's to cheer myself up, and these variety programmes are very gay" says one workman. After *Volpone*, the play which left the best memories was *Le Don d'Adèle*, a good comedy. Of the suggestions for new features, 44 ask for something cheerful, and only 17 for something serious. Of the four big films which televiewers would most like to see again, three are comedies. And the audiences' liking for all-in wrestling is due not so much to its violence, which few people find really convincing, as to the fact that it is acrobatic and funny at the same time. "It's good circus stuff" says one viewer. It is this general wish for something funny which prompts a farmer to say that "television is too serious".

Televiewers like to be made to laugh, but they also like to be made to dream. They have a great eagerness to see marvellous sights, "such as one never sees in our kind of life". They are grateful to the variety programmes for "bringing within our reach entertainments that we seldom see (circus) or never see at all (music hall)", as a farm labourer says. Farm people are particularly fond of the circus, perhaps because it shows them animals—horses and dogs—working in a way that is quite extraordinary, in contrast to the ordinary work they do on a farm. The keenest circus viewers are men of 25 to 39—possibly because, in bringing their small children to the show, they revive their own childhood memories, detached from everyday concerns. Countless people who are starved of luxury or beauty look upon the music hall shows as a consolation for their unhappiness and an embodiment of their dreams.

But to judge from the answer most frequently given, it is the stars who are great attraction of the variety programmes. "I like these programmes", says someone

"because they give one a chance to see the singers who are heard on the radio", or, as someone else puts it, "It's like meeting the big stars one's always hearing about". Each televiewer has his or her "own" stars, the personification of individual desires or ideals. These semi-mythical personages serve to embody dreams of power, beauty or adventure which cannot be satisfied in real life. It is all the easier for televiewers to feel they are sharing in the stars' lives, since some of the variety programmes (such as "Trente-six chandelles") show the performers with no script or set part to play: "you see them close-to", they are "friendly"—rather as though you had met them in the street or invited them to dinner. The "interviewer" himself asks them questions on topical subjects or problems in everyday language. They answer in the same manner: each member of the audience feels as though television had brought Michèle Morgan or Jean Gabin to his own home. It is the "exotic" brought to your doorstep.

In these circumstances, are we justified in speaking of the "cultural possibilities" of television? Despite its limitations, our enquiry into the cultural potentialities of the tele-clubs enables us to answer this question in the affirmative. As we have seen, even the limitations of the variety programmes were quite apparent to the televiewers, who show an almost equal interest in programmes with great cultural possibilities; programmes which can build up personality are just as likely to win acceptance as are the purely recreational features. Television can make leisure time into an opportunity for culture.

The attempt to promote group education by means of television, regarded in the widest sense and adapted to the workers' leisure hours, should not be confined to a small number of features, but should underlie the greater part of the programmes. It should surely be possible to give greater cultural value even to the variety items, without diminishing their charm.

The general taste for comedy, whose strength we have already indicated, might be further satisfied by programmes in which parody, satire and humour were exercised in regard to a wide range of subjects taken from private or social life. Humorous writers, actors and journalists undertake to make their public laugh every week, or even every day: what is to prevent television from doing the same thing in its own way, with a permanent comic

feature? To think while they laugh is an old tradition among ordinary people everywhere.

A further example is provided by the popularity of performing horses, wild beast acts, and song or dance numbers. Small farmers and workmen are extremely alive to the quality of good "work". One of them writes: "I like the circus and the Wednesday music hall best, because they show us people and animals actually at work". It seems likely that greater advantage could be taken of this interest in work, through programmes showing backstage views of cabaret, music hall or circus life, with the athletes, acrobats, tamers or performers at work and being interviewed about their working methods and style of life, their childhood, their past careers, the problems confronting them in the ring or on the stage, the way the audience can play its part, etc. Interest in stars might thus lead to the acquiring of a living culture.

What cultural possibilities are offered by the remaining programmes? The practical programmes are intended to help people reflect on everyday tasks so as to enable them to carry them out with more pleasure or greater efficiency. "Magazine féminin" does not seem to have achieved this aim. Televiewers show a marked difference of opinion about it. They do not, however, object to the actual type of feature. Some have said they would like these practical programmes extended to include technology and craftsmanship. "I'd like the practical programmes to show something about my job." Though the enquiry did not point to any very definite conclusions, we gathered, from what the tele-club leaders said, that it would be advisable to lengthen and vary the list of subjects dealt with in a "magazine". It should cover the problems of household and family life—the children's education, the arrangement of an apartment, how to buy toys or build up a record library. Cooking and cutting-out do not interest enough televiewers (less than 5 per cent in our enquiry), and many people find them boring. Do they produce no effect at all? That does not seem to be the case. But the fact chiefly stressed by everyone who claimed to have gained practical information from the cooking or cutting-out demonstrations was that "It gives you ideas", as a farmer's wife put it. What tele-club members expect from this particular "magazine" is not detailed instructions, but general advice on household matters. The "magazine" should serve as a permanent adviser; and more of its time

should be devoted to the day-to-day routine of a typical family, with advice from well-known stars and interviews with women from various walks of life—the chief problems by which the family is confronted being discussed in an intelligent conversational style.

But, it may be asked, must the "magazine" necessarily give detailed practical advice? It might do so now and then, but in the ordinary way it should simply awaken the women's interest in the subjects it deals with, and tell them how to find out more. It would be sufficient to set up an enquiry service or to give some addresses, or perhaps to introduce a few books, with comments. The women could buy these books and learn to get the best out of them. This would probably widen the appeal of the "magazine", and it might come to play both a practical and cultural part in family life.

Group education also seeks to acquaint the public with masterpieces of art and literature. Television has unprecedented facilities for solving this problem. Tele-club experience suggests that the masterpieces which appeal most to viewers are those produced by the cinema. Some technicians feel that the small screen requires productions made to fit it. We agree. Television will gradually develop a style of its own. But it would be a mistake to reduce the ratio of films in television. Our televiewers are explicit on this point—they enjoy seeing good films, and would like to see them a second time.

The masterpieces of the cinema can do much to educate public taste. Through television, which for many people acts as "home cinema", they can awaken a feeling for beauty and stimulate thought about important problems. If full advantage is to be taken of these possibilities, the groups must be given more encouragement to think for themselves. On the French television service, films are presented in a way which, though generally brilliant, is too complicated and too "precious" to capture the televiewer's attention. The language used is too refined; the ideas expressed are too far removed from the lives of workmen and small farmers. It might be possible to lead off the discussion in the clubs after the viewing by a short televised debate between professional critics and people from various walks of life.

Fuller use might be made of our audiences' fondness for films in awakening their interest in other art forms—

painting, music, literature—by discussions highlighting certain aspects of the film itself, or the literary or other sources from which it originated—providing, of course, that these discussions are conducted in language which is clear, precise, and understandable by all.

Introduction to literature through television cannot be confined to telecasts about the latest novels. These, as we have seen, are quite "lost" on our club audiences. In France the problem of extending reading among the public is tremendous, and television could probably be a great help in solving it. We have emphasized our viewers' interest in topical events. Attempts to encourage reading should make full use of this. The topical appeal of a book does not necessarily lie in its literary aspects. For 90 per cent of the population it stems from something quite different—from current political, social or human considerations. Any very successful film starts a fashion for the classic or modern book on which its plot was based. A political trial may double the number of readers of some modern book. The sudden opening-up of a new country may prompt people to read some great book which deals with it, and so forth. Television must set about preparing features which present literary works from this highly topical point of view.

Speaking more generally, the reading habit should be inculcated, not merely on the basis of one particular feature, but with the help of every programme which gives pleasure and has cultural possibilities. It will be remembered that, in a public opinion poll recently conducted by the BBC, 63 per cent of televiewers said they were reading less than before. In the tele-clubs, where the educator's influence makes itself felt, the trend is much less negative. A certain type of programme can, however, be a danger to private reading. It is for the producers to encourage individual enthusiasm for books, by their method of presentation, their commentaries, and the particulars they give. The right lines are indicated by the experiment in reading among children, conducted at Seattle, which we described in the Introduction. To encourage reading should be a permanent concern with all good producers and directors.

There are various ways of introducing a great literary work on television. But the growing popularity of televised plays and the drawing power of "stars" suggest that more use should be made of straightforward reading and

dramatization of books, the reading to be done by well-known stars of the theatre or cinema. We think, too, that discussions between the author and the leaders of a few public reading clubs, guided by a chairman with an unaffected way of speaking, might do much to spread reading through television.

Another problem which our tele-clubs are challenging the television service to approach much more boldly is that of the extension of general knowledge. Most children leave school at the age of 14; but the citizen of a present-day democracy needs to increase his knowledge all the time. How can this need be satisfied without boring him? News telecasts could perhaps be extended and made more exhaustive, to form a basis for the acquisition of fresh knowledge. The "Journal télévisé" is one of the most popular features, and the chief criticisms made of it, apart from accusations of prejudice or triviality, are that "it is not full enough", or that "it's a pity we usually get only the Paris news". This "journal" might be longer and more instructive—its descriptions might be more detailed, its information more precise, its statistics more numerous, its subject-matter and the problems it describes more closely related to their period and surroundings.

One workman said, rather charmingly, that he liked the "Journal télévisé" "because it's about my *own* times". This feature might include a greater number of informative items, presented in its usual way, thanks to more numerous diagrams, more detailed commentaries and longer interviews. It would thus help to give the general public an insight into our own times, through the presentation of some particular event. By making use of films, sketches, maps, interviews, etc., the "journal" might provide the indispensable "background" for the building up of knowledge. Unfortunately, in their wish to please (whom?), the "journal" commentators sometimes feel impelled to be rapid, superficial, sparkling—to fire off paradoxes or indulge in subtleties. These are quite the wrong tactics when addressing an unsophisticated audience.

The same course of action would be even more appropriate to the reporting of great events. The coronation of the Queen of England left very vivid memories. Why not follow up this display of interest by a programme devoted to the great moments in the history of the British Empire and its chief economic, social and cultural features, illustrated in a really varied and lively manner?

Democracies often lament the public ignorance about civic questions. Might not a better use be made of the momentary interest awakened among the public by certain events, such as elections? These would provide an opportunity for telecasts describing the development, operation and significance of the various public institutions. It might perhaps be well to appoint a permanent advisory body of historians, geographers, ethnographers and sociologists, to supply television producers and directors at any time with information which would help them to place current events in their proper chronological and spatial setting.

Such an institution might be of service even for telecasts which seem, at first glance, to have very little relation to current events. Let us consider sport, for example. The season of the cycle "Tour de France" is about the only time of year when the French public takes any interest in the country's geography. Would it not be desirable and possible to introduce a series of programmes lasting throughout the tour and constituting a "geographical tour de France". in which the towns and provinces through which the cyclists pass would be presented to the huge public that comes to watch champions like Louison Bobet and Fausto Coppi? In a more general way, reports on topical events in the field of sport, whether cycling, football, wrestling or athletics, might provide glimpses of the different peoples, provinces and lands while describing their champions and sports teams. The excitement worked up in connexion with commercialized sport, which so often acts as an opiate for the public, could thus be turned to account for the spread of worth-while knowledge. Sports writers have already blazed the trail, but television has so far shown little readiness to follow them.

We must once again emphasize the outstanding importance attached by tele-club audiences to the knowledge of geography. Surely the interest aroused by travel stories and travel documentaries could be put to better use? Telecasts could, for instance, prepare people for holidays in certain districts or provinces—the Riviera, Brittany, the Alps. Or they could deal with the general problems confronting those parts of the country, stimulating the desire to investigate them by reading monographs, biographies, descriptions, novels or essays.

Télévision française has perhaps not made the most of the tele-club audiences' interest in geography. It should be possible to use this popular subject as introduction to

the methodical study of other branches of knowledge, whose theory and terminology appear more complex. Using this approach, knowledge can be easily acquired, by a kind of intelligent journey of exploration through nature and human society. The research-worker looks at things from a standpoint not far removed from that of the spectator eager to learn more about his surroundings or about the world he dreams of entering. This angle is receiving more and more attention in present-day education, which devotes an ever-increasing amount of time to "background studies". And geography covers all other fields of knowledge, or at least touches them at certain points: physical geography serves as an introduction to geology, physics and chemistry; economic geography leads to political economy, and biological geography to the medical sciences; while cultural geography paves the way to the study of manners and customs, etc. Modern geography, considered in its widest sense (ecology), is often closely related to ethnography, sociology and anthropology. The far-ranging and disconnected interests which have often been said to detract from the value of geographers as scientific research-workers are an asset where introduction to science is involved. That is why geography might be used as a stepping-stone to almost all the other sciences.

The televising of composite films built up around one element in nature—animal life—has already shown what might be achieved by the composite treatment—on humorous, dramatic or poetic lines—of other elements in nature or human society.

An introduction to physics through the exploration of a particular setting has been demonstrated by outside telecasts such as the visit to the atomic laboratory at Saclay. Though tele-club audiences express general approval of this type of programme, they severely criticized the method, commentary and structure of this particular programme, declaring that "one couldn't really get the hang of it", "it was too long", etc. The same comments were made about the "scientific telecasts", in which an expert is interviewed about the principles underlying his discoveries, rather than about their results. In our opinion, the backbone of any scientific teaching through television should be supplied by a description of the practical applications of the particular science in question.

Such an approach might serve as an effective introduction to the lives, achievements and theories of scientists.

Between the programme which consists merely of a difficult, tedious lecture, unbearable to the average viewer, and the superficial report with no educational value, there may be room for composite features in which cinema and "live" television, pictures and words, stories and ideas, comments and interviews, explanations and suggestions for reading combine to acquaint the general public with highly complicated problems. It now remains for us to investigate a programme of this kind, consisting of the 13 telecasts which made up "Etat d'urgence" and whose aim was to interest rural tele-club audiences in an important problem involving rural economy, sociology and policy. We must repeat that we regard the results of this supplementary enquiry into the cultural possibilities of important telecasts merely as hypotheses to be verified by further surveys in the near future. Our practical suggestions, too, are submitted only as hints for the general trend of programmes which will have to be tested by experiment, as we tried to do with "Etat d'urgence".

PART THREE

"Etat d'urgence"

A series of 13 experimental telecasts
on the problem of modernization in rural areas

SECTION I

THE PROGRAMMES

I. Background

1952 : THE FIRST ATTEMPT

Less than a year after the formation of the first tele-clubs, the leaders of the movement realized that they would have to widen the field of their activities. It was not enough to encourage the opening of tele-clubs and then operate them and "conduct" their meetings; it was also necessary to induce Télévision française to provide programmes more suited to the popular education movement to which this new type of club owed its origin.

As early as 1950 Télévision française was asking the tele-clubs to send in periodical notes on the programmes received, as a supplement to the information gained from audience mail and from the critics. When, towards the end of 1951, the leaders of the movement asked for programmes to meet their requirements, their request was favourably received. As a result, Télévision française, in August 1952, offered to organize a series of regular telecasts which, though available to all viewers, would be intended primarily for tele-clubs.

The television authorities, however, wanted to devote these programmes to specifically rural problems, whereas the tele-club leaders would have preferred something designed to meet the needs of popular ducation in its widest sense.

This was a new type of series, inasmuch as its intention was to draw up programmes with the organized tele-club public definitely in mind. But from another point of view it constituted an even bolder innovation. The series was to be produced, not by a television expert, but by an active worker in the field of popular education. This was Roger Louis, the founder of tele-clubs in France, who had had long experience of evening meetings and study circles,

cine-clubs and reading clubs. He knew nothing of how a television programme was "put on", but he knew how to awaken the immediate interest of an unsophisticated audience in a general problem, a subject of study or an art.

From October 1952 to June 1953, for the first time in the history of Télévision française, an organization formed for group viewing had a programme specially planned for it—"La vie à la campagne" (life in the country). But the Programme Department was not over bold. It refused to alter the day and hour of other features to make room for "La vie à la campagne" during the usual tele-club hours. It put the programme at noon on Sundays, and later at 6 p.m. on Sundays, neither of which times was really suitable. At those hours there is no one in the tele-club; and these programmes, theoretically intended for them, were hardly received at all except by home viewers. The authorities allowed only 5,000 frs. per telecast to meet expenses. This covered no more than 1 or 2 minutes of "live" transmission; the producer had to fill in the rest of the time with whatever documentary films he could manage to borrow! The programme depended for its existence on film lending libraries. Preparations often consisted merely of a hunt for films available on free loan. And as, from the outset, the producer was given very insufficient time for preparation, he was in a state of constant uncertainty. The trouble was that this series was regarded at what is called an "educational" programme. It was therefore doomed to be "run on a shoestring", in accordance with the infortunate view—far too widely held in the majority of television services—that while it is natural to spend large sums on entertaining the public with variety shows, it would be a wicked waste to spend even one-tenth the amount in an attempt to teach or spread culture among that same public through so-called "educational" telecasts. For lack of funds, the programme invariably followed the same course: a film would be introduced by the tele-club leader, and then run through, after which there would be a discussion, more or less unscripted, between the leader and the girl TV announcer—the latter playing the part of an ignorant but wellmeaning townswoman. Sometimes someone would be interviewed; and suggestions would be made to the viewers to continue the discussion among themselves, and to write to the télévision giving their own ideas.

This feature was, however, lucky in two ways. For one

Roger Louis presents the title card of the series.

(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

thing, one of the girl announcers on the Télévision française agreed to help Roger Louis without receiving a fee; and for another thing—still more important—as the discussion, contrary to the established custom in television, did not follow a written script, it had a sincerity and simplicity which the audience was quick to appreciate.

As these programmes were not reaching the tele-clubs, Roger Louis felt that his chief aim should be to give town viewers an idea of the tele-club movement and of living conditions in the country. He used television as a means of linking town and country, and tried to convey a better understanding of the conditions of rural life as compared with those of industrial and town populations.

It is impossible to give a complete list of the subjects dealt with in the programmes, which were given monthly from October 1952 to July 1953, but we will mention some or them by way of example:

Forests: wild life.

Drainage: the collective effort made by one village to set up a drainage system.

The first step: story of the individual efforts of one smallholder to improve his holding.

Alpine meadows: life of the mountain dwellers in the Alps.

Peaceful countryside: argument between a young Parisian and his brother on the subject of modernization.

Town and country life: an attempt to compare the ways of life of townspeople and countryfolk. Explanation of their attitudes towards each other.

Farmworkers and miners: an attempt to compare the working lives of the miner and the farmworker.

Countryfolk and the war: attempt to investigate the attitude of countryfolk towards the war and the problems with which it confronted them (from the standpoint of the accusations brought against them by town-dwellers).

Family life: the life of a town family, seen in the light of the statistics issued by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes économiques (survey of the marketing and utilization of agricultural produce).

Viewers' letters showed a very favourable reaction. This was so much the case that, before the end of the series, the Télévision française made a further grant, so that it became possible to hire commercial films, and even to make one film about the creation of the Nogentel tele-club. Was this success due to the subject-matter of the telecasts, whose aim was to rid townspeople of their prejudices

regarding countryfolk, or to the sincerity displayed by the organizer? However that may be, the tele-club movement thus succeeded, for the first time, in directly introducing its own particular problems and style into telecasts. The television authorities felt encouraged to follow up their initiative.

ORIGIN OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES OF TELECASTS

In 1953 Télévision française was able to arrange a further series of telecasts in co-operation with the tele-clubs —this time with considerably larger funds, thanks to help from Unesco. It will be remembered that Unesco had decided to conduct, in one of its Member States, an experiment in the use of television for adult education in rural areas. France offered the co-operation of its television service in implementing this project. Under the agreements concluded between Télévision française and Unesco, the former met all the ordinary expenses of producing this series, and undertook to transmit it at an hour convenient to tele-club viewers.[1] Unesco was responsible for the extra expenditure which enabled the producing team to extend its range to an area exceeding that which is normally accessible to television.[2] Unesco also provided facilities for making a scientific check of the results of these programmes.

II. Principle and planning of the telecasts

A number of considerations influenced the choice of a subject for the series of telecasts. In the first place, the programmes had to be of special interest to countryfolk in the departments where tele-clubs existed; yet they had also to interest town viewers, for there was only one television network in France and all features had therefore to be arranged so as to please a sufficiently high proportion

1. The considerations which influenced the choice of hour for these telecasts are discussed in Appendix VI, p. 263.
2. Details of the budget allocated to this series are given in Appendix VI, p. 263.

of the viewing public. Moreover, the programmes had to have a definite educational purpose, with measurable results. And finally they had, as far as possible, to make use of all the technical resources of production.

After much discussion between Roger Louis and the responsible officials of Unesco's Mass Communication Department, who were helped by advice from experts attached to the French Ministry of Agriculture, it was decided that the general purpose of the series should be to demonstrate the vital problems confronting French agriculture and the need to solve them by introducing modern methods. The series was to provide new ideas which would prompt new activity. It therefore bore no ressemblance either to the purely informative programmes like the "Vie à la campagne" series—aimed solely at acquainting townsfolk with the problems facing country-dwellers—or to the strictly educational type of programme.

Throughout the preparation of the series, and even after it was launched, there was considerable controversy about its general trend. Programmes intended for one particular category of viewers might bore the others. This difficulty became evident during the actual telecasts. When Roger Louis spoke directly to tele-club members, the Programme Department of Télévision française objected, fearing that town viewers would switch off. But when he spoke to the audience in general, it was found that response in the tele-club was less spontaneous and that it was difficult, afterwards, to induce their members to discuss the subject of the programme.[1]

In order to lay down the general line of the series, the producer and the Unesco specialists therefore asked themselves: "What is the common denominator of wine-grower and farmer, workman and engineer, the town family and the country family? How can we deliver our message to a

1. The same difficulty arose in a slightly different connexion. On several occasions the tele-clubs complained that the programmes suggested no really practical solutions. This showed a misunderstanding as to the essential purpose of the series, which was: to encourage viewers to find their own solution, not to offer cut-and-dried proposals. This was due not only to educational considerations, but to the very nature of the televised programmes. These were intended for districts which varied considerably in character—those devoted only to wine-growing, and those with mixed crops—and for large farmers and smallholders alike. No over-all solution was therefore possible. The programmes were also intended for town viewers, who would have been bored by a purely technical approach. Finally, television, as a public service, could not enter into questions of agricultural policy which were still highly controversial.

particular section of our audience without boring the others?"

The solution was to describe all the problems within the framework of "true stories". Everybody takes a certain interest in their neighbours' private lives, and through this interest the viewers could be given a grasp of the main general problems affecting their own existence.

It was consequently decided that, in nearly all the programmes, the main features of the problem would be set forth as part of the story of a present-day Frenchman. In many cases the man himself came to the studio. Thus, for instance, viewers were introduced to Mr. Lecomte, whose son had joined the army and left him, at an advanced age, to work his farm by himself; and thus, too, they sided for or against the small farmer and the industrialist who came to discuss the vital question of credit. Whether the subject was the re-allocation of land, co-operation, the flow of young people to the towns, or woman's life in the country, it was always the tale of personal experience which made the greatest impression.

III. Problems of rural life

But what were the problems at issue? This could not be discovered in Paris. An inspector from the Ministry of Agriculture advised Roger Louis to go and study them on the spot.

This investigation led much farther than had been anticipated. The aim was to find subjects for the telecasts, by travelling about in country districts in search of places where a vital problem was obviously calling for solution. Landscape, setting, situation and participants in the telecast had to be found—all in the districts, and if possible in the actual villages, where the tele-clubs were operating. The organizer hoped that this would increase the impact of his programmes and stimulate the club members.

The investigation took three weeks. In three districts—Tardenois, Brie and Champagne—Roger Louis put his question "What's wrong in your part of the world?" to members of both sexes, representing a wide range of occupations, age-groups, financial and social positions, and cultural levels. He questioned teachers and parish priests,

veterinary surgeons and doctors, shopkeepers and managers of co-operatives. And in particular he tried, by spending a great deal of time with big farmers, farm labourers and small farmers, to discern the main features of the unsatisfactory situation prevailing in rural districts.

In the Tardenois the big farmers grow sugar-beet on farms that cover from 200 to 1,000 hectares [1] or even more. They are prosperous, and have carried standardization and mechanization to the furthest possible extent. Output is high. But they are wondering what is the best size for a large-scale undertaking—200, 500 or 1,000 hectares? They complain that competition knows no restraint, that the market lacks all organization. They are not always sure of selling their crop. Many declare that the work is becoming more and more difficult, owing to the shortage of qualified workers; they feel that the flow of population from country to town will have unfortunate repercussions, and are worried about the social unrest which sets up a barrier between them and their workers.

The farm labourers, for their part, complain of their low wages and their housing conditions, which are frequently squalid. Most of them earn considerably less than 20,000 francs a month. They do not get the paid holidays or the free time which factory workers enjoy, and are often marooned on wide stretches of land where no entertainment is available. They are "organized" but have no powerful trade unions like those of the town workman; and they are more "resigned" in outlook. The proportion of Frenchmen among them is steadily declining, and those that remain are regarded by many people as the dregs of society. The best of them make for the towns, and the investigators did not meet a single "exile" who was homesick for his village. On the contrary, all those who leave take every opportunity of urging their friends to do the same.

The small farmers have other subjects of complaint. There are over 3 million of them in all, with farms of less than 20 hectares; and they represent a great variety of types. To consider only the district of the tele-clubs, the problems which exist in wine-growing regions such as Châtillon and Venteuil are not the same as those found in "mixed crop" areas such as Montfaucon and Viffort. Nearly all the farms in the wine-growing district have

1. See footnote, p. 41.

their own tractor and their own sulphating machine for treating the vines. The yield is good and the standard of living higher than elsewhere. But all these small wine-growers are at the mercy of the big champagne firms. They have modern equipment, but often do not know how to use it to the best advantage. A considerable effort in the way of co-operation has indeed been made; but individualism, coupled with the tendency to "get into a groove", has kept the vineyards too small (many of them are less than 2 or 3 hectares); prices are therefore high, and this restricts the market.

But it is in the Brie district, with its mixed crops and cattle-breeding, that the situation of the small farmers is the worst of all. Their buildings, tools and methods are old-fashioned and out of date; yields are very inadequate, and the produce is hard to sell, being greatly over-priced. In such circumstances, the small farmers tend to withdraw into themselves, cutting down their output and leaving land untilled. They do not dare to borrow money for modernization purposes. They work themselves to death, to achieve a standard of living which in many cases is very low. Even the wealthy among them have often grown avaricious, for fear of what the morrow may bring. The young men are heartily sick of the work, and the girls are ready to leave for the town at the first opportunity. Thus the villages are being drained of their population.

A FEW FIGURES

The travelling town-dweller thinks of the countryside as a place for a holiday or a Sunday outing; whereas for many countryfolk it has become uninhabitable. Here are some typical examples of the discomfort that prevails.

The villages in which our tele-clubs are situated are not buried in the depths of Auvergne or Finistère; they are within 60 miles of Paris. Three of them are on the outskirts of a country town, Château-Thierry. Yet 65 per cent [1] of the public affected by our investigation have no running water. Of the 21.5 million people who live in country districts in France, only 9 million have running

1. These figures emerge from an investigation into the situation regarding individual and collective agricultural equipment and public or domestic facilities, which we conducted among the audiences of the 10 largest tele-clubs: initial referendum—method no. 2.

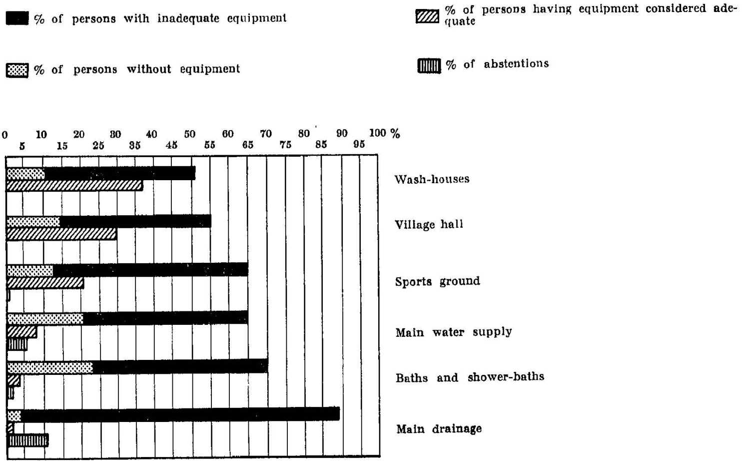
water. One housewife out of two has at her disposal a primitive wash-house with no real shelter, and 95 per cent of this public have no communal drainage system. Facilities for recreation are also scanty. Although these villages have gifted organizers, 70 per cent of them still have no village hall and 65 per cent are without a sports ground.

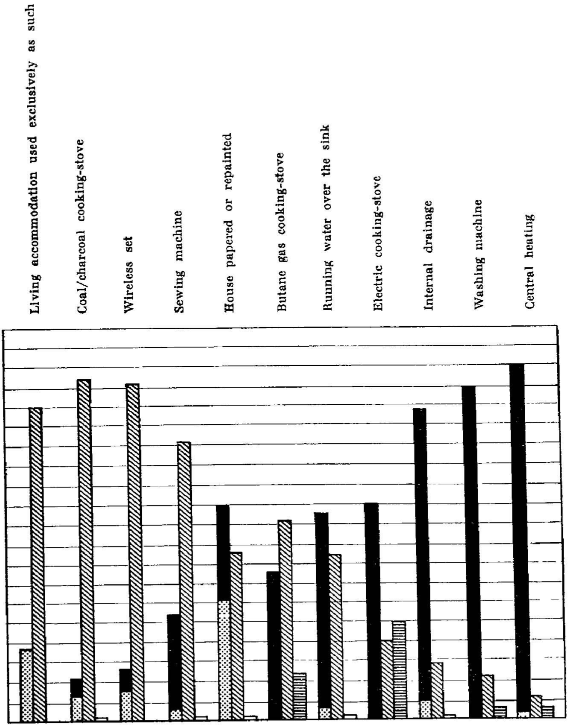
Are the houses more attractive than the villages as a whole? Most of them are at least 100 years old. Those of our tele-club members are no exception to this rule. Less than half of them have been brought up to date. The housewife has to fetch water from the public fountain or horsetrough. More than half the people have no water laid on at all. "A tap above the sink" is something to dream about. Electric cookers are rare, to be found in hardly one in five homes we are discussing. Wood is frequently used for heating, as it costs less than electricity or coal. Only one person out of two uses butane gas for cooking. Central heating is a luxury beyond the reach of 90 per cent of our public. Ninety-five people out of 100 own wireless sets, but hardly 15 per cent have main drainage in their houses. And 85 per cent have no washing-machine of their own.

The chief reason for this shortage of equipment in village and home is the low yield of crops, stock-breeding and agricultural work in general. Of the small farmers among our audiences, more than half work by rule of thumb and keep no accounts. The swing-plough has been abolished, and the vast majority of small farmers have all-metal wheel ploughs; but only 12 per cent have tractors. It seems likely that many of the others cannot afford to buy one, though it would increase their output and consequently their income.

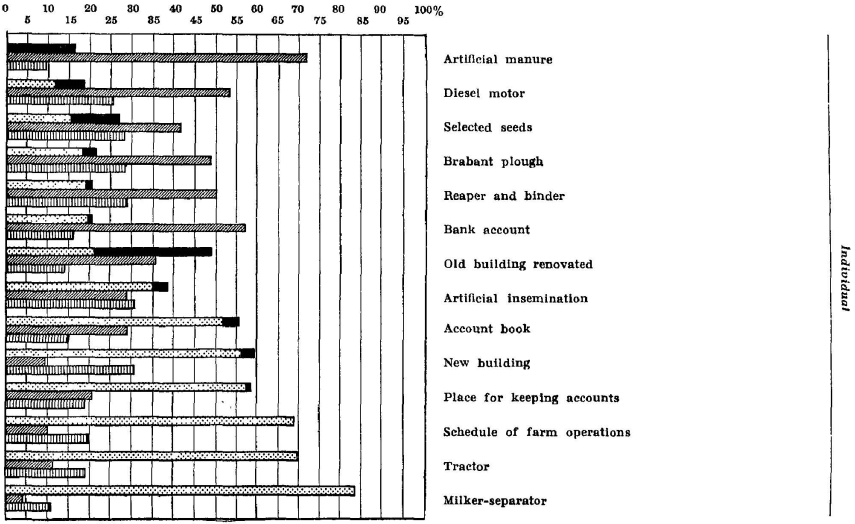
Another point is that the land is probably too sub-divided, the holdings are too scattered. Why do the farmers hesitate to suggest re-allocation—the re-grouping of the small plots? In the Aisne only 80 communes out of 400 have had their land re-allocated—and the Aisne is an enterprising and exceptionally advanced department. Only 6 per cent of the farmers we are considering have a re-allocation commission at their disposal. If up-to-date machinery is too expensive to buy, the small farmers might perhaps club together to gain the benefit of it. Some of our tele-club viewers belong to the co-operative movement and most of them are members of a buyers' or purchasers' co-operative, but less than 20 per cent enjoy the advantages of a machine-

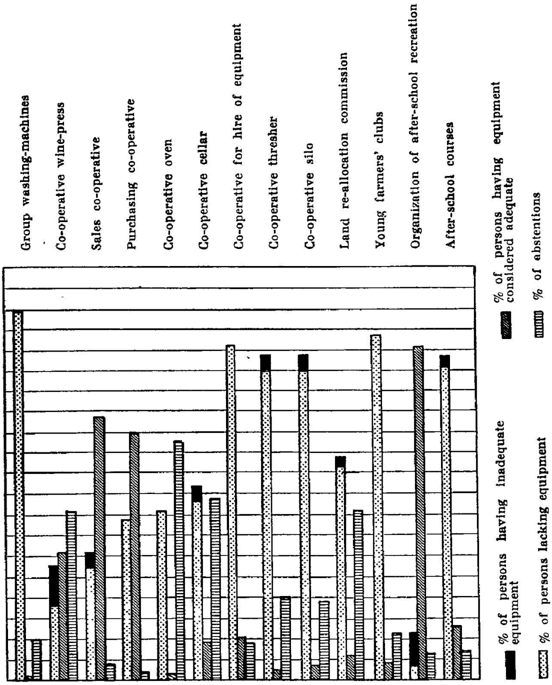
Graph 6. PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS WITH OR WITHOUT PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS OR DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT




Living accommodation used exclusively as such
Coal/charcoal cooking-stove
Wireless set
Sewing machine
House papered or repainted
Butane gas cooking-stove
Running water over the sink
Electric cooking-stove
Internal drainage
Washing machine
Central heating

Graph 7. PERCENTAGE OF SMALL FARMERS TO WHOM INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT IS OR IS NOT AVAILABLE





Group washing-machines
Co-operative wine-press
Sales co-operative
Purchasing co-operative
Co-operative oven
Co-operative cellar
Co-operative for hire of equipment
Co-operative thresher
Co-operative silo
Land re-allocation commission
Young farmers' clubs
Organization of after-school recreation
After-school courses
% of persons having inadequate equipment
% of persons lacking equipment
% of persons having equipment considered adequate
% of abstentions

hiring co-operative. As for the collective ownership of household equipment, such as washing-machines, this is practically unknown. All these examples serve to illustrate the alarming situation noted by the producer.

IV. The final plan

Once back in Paris, Roger Louis and the Unesco officials discussed matters thoroughly with the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Education, the organizers of after-school courses and representatives of the Commissariat Général au Plan de Modernisation (General Commissariat for Planned Modernization), the Direction de l'Equipement du Territoire (Directorate of Territorial Equipment) and the agricultural trade unions, before drawing up the final plan for the telecasts.

The districts concerned being so poverty-stricken, the producer decided that the experimental series should deal first and foremost with the problem of the poorest farms, which are also the most numerous, and should be addressed primarily to small farmers. The chief aim should be to hasten their realization of the need for modernization and to suggest some possibilities for improvement, despite the difficulty resulting from the present dispersed state of landownership. The series of telecasts was intended to show that such an effort was practicable, provided modernization of equipment went hand in hand with the use of agricultural credit, the re-allocation of rural property, increased co-operation and better conditions for women and young people. To stress the seriousness of this problem for small farmers and for the nation as a whole, the producer decided to call the series "Etat d'urgence".

The arguments to be expressed in the thirteen telecasts were centred on four principal points:

Presentation of the facts (telecasts 1 and 2). Description of the present-day life of the countryfolk in the district selected. What makes it almost intolerable not only to them but to all who are dependent upon agricultural output. Something must be done. But what? And how? Suggestion of a possible solution of the resultant problem, as part of a desirable and logical development the motorization, or rather modernization of the farms, and the adaptation this would entail.

Consideration of the problems and their possible solutions (telecasts 3 to 9, inclusive). There are obstacles: the question of credit, the widely-dispersed holdings, the individualistic attitude of the small owner-farmers. Some solutions have been found, others are still to seek. The importance of a community spirit. Is there a glut of produce?

Consequences of this development on the human level (telecasts 10, 11 and 12). Need for development on the human as well as the technical level. Motorization and mechanization have no value unless accompanied by a far-reaching change in the way of life and outlook of the people; role of women and young people.

The first step must be taken (telecast 13). This trend of development, which progressively transforms agriculture from a way of life into an occupation, calls for preliminary education. Schools of agriculture and after-school training courses exist, or can be instituted.

Although the telecasts in their final form did not absolutely adhere to this plan, owing to the numerous technical difficulties which arose as they went on, the main line laid down was carefully followed.

The subject-matter of each of the 13 telecasts was deliberately kept fairly general, so that each had its own interest and was more or less independent of the others. Viewers could thus enjoy any telecast in the series without necessarily having seen them all.

Every feature was required to abide by the following principles, which were based on experience gained in popular education: (a) it must be planned with a view to group reception, to be followed by discussion of the problems it raised; (b) it must deal with subjects of immediate interest to the districts where the experiment was to take place; (c) it must be confined to a limited number of subjects, in order to simplify analysis of the results achieved; (d) it must, whenever possible, make use of illustrations or examples drawn from the district itself; (e) it must, so far as possible, encourage or supplement some local activity already undertaken, in such a way that the practical effect of the telecasts would be easy to assess.

V. Stages in carrying out the plan

THE PRODUCTION OF FILMS

The programmes were to consist, in varying proportions, of films and "live" telecasts from the studio. According to the original plan, the 13 telecasts were to include a total of about two and a half hours of film time. The first step in the preparations consisted of making these films, after choosing locations for them.

The production team consisted of five members—a director, a producer who was also the head cameraman, a continuity-girl, a cameraman who was also assistant producer, and an assistant electrician.[1] The working atmosphere was friendly and practical: every member of the team willingly undertook several tasks, and all took turns in helping whichever one among them was the best qualified for any particular job.

At the very outset a problem arose which put the team to the test, before it had had time to get into real working condition. The filmed portion, illustrating the talks, had been planned in the form of "stories", introducing characters, who were thus required to play a part and build up a dramatic "interpretation". The human aspect was regarded as more important that the technical; but at the beginning there was a difference of opinion. The director felt that the parts should be played by professional actors, since only they, he considered, would know what to do in front of the camera and be able to give a natural performance. The producer argued that the stories to be told, and which the films would illustrate, were not fictions, and that the real people concerned must be brought in, so as to secure the requisite natural atmosphere. He thought that real countryfolk alone would give the desired impression of authenticity, without which a country audience would be left unmoved.

Both sides vigorously defended their respective points of view. Finally it was decided that the search for a locality should be accompanied by a search for suitable peasant performers. If these could not be found, there would still be time to call in professionals.

1. See Appendix VI for details of the team's equipment, p. 263.

All the illustrative films were to be made in the southern part of the Aisne and Marne departments; where there were many tele-clubs, whose leaders gave extremely helpful information about which of the country people should be sought out, and introduced the team to the traditionally aloof and mistrustful local communities.

Despite these introductions, and the fact that most of the countryfolk visited by the team were regular viewers and thus took an interest in the scheme, considerable diplomacy was needed to persuade them to appear in films; and still more was required before they would allow the cameraman to film their farms—especially "inside". Not only did they fear loss of time and inconvenience, but they felt a kind of embarrassment at the idea of "showing everybody" the setting of their private lives. They disliked intensely the thought that other countryfolk would be appraising and criticizing their domestic arrangements. "You'll make fun of us", "You want to show how backward we are"—or, on the contrary, "The others will say we're stuck up"—such were remarks that the team heard daily. The task of persuasion was particularly difficult when it came to inducing a family of countryfolk, whose technical methods and style of living were more than usually backward, to reveal to the camera the most typical examples of those methods. Nobody likes to be held up as an example of "how not to behave".

The process of reconnoitring the ground consisted, in fact, almost entirely of long discussions. After a week of such contacts, the team became convinced that the policy of using countryfolk as actors wass the right one; so this made it possible to settle more or less definitely where the different items were to be filmed.

The preparation of the actual scripts was then undertaken, in the light of the suggestions gleaned during the "tour of inspection"; further important changes were made in the general project, and the "shooting" began.[1]

Practical experience showed at once that the decision to use "impromptu" actors was a good one. When the first shots were made the director carefully explained to the countryfolk, step by step, what they were to do, imitating the facial expressions and the attitudes they were to adopt. But it very soon became apparent that all these precautions were quite superfluous. A short explanation at the begin-

1. See Appendix VI for the final production plan, p. 263.

ning was quite enough, and the temporary actor then improvised his part with disconcerting ease, without a single false note and without ever "piling it on".

"The best actors in the world could never manage that!" declared the director, when he realized with stupefaction that hardly any of the scenes shot would need "retakes".

Still more astonishing was the fact that he sometimes suggested an attitude while shooting was in progress, and the suggestions were obeyed, without the camera recording the slightest sign of hesitation or artificiality, the briefest ill-timed glance.

Helped by exceptionally good weather, the filming was completed in very favourable circumstances. One example may be enough to give an idea of the local people's actively sympathetic attitude towards the film team. During the reconstruction of the opening of a tele-club in the village of Nogentel, for a film to be used in the telecast on "the community spirit", 80 of the village people submitted to being filmed from 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. (though most of them had to be at work very early next morning) and, in the dazzling light of the projectors, patiently went over and over a single short crowd scene which was difficult to get exactly right—and this, of course, with no payment whatsœver.

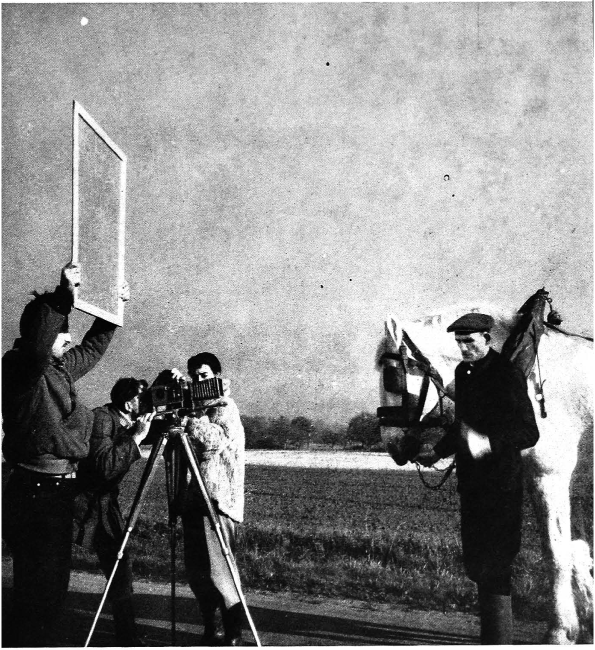
In this connexion it should be mentioned that in every case the producer had the greatest difficulty in persuading these impromptu actors, who had lost one and quite frequently several days' work, that it was entirely natural for the Télévision to compensate them and that they had thoroughly deserved this.

The filming was done in two separate periods, and completed at the end of December.

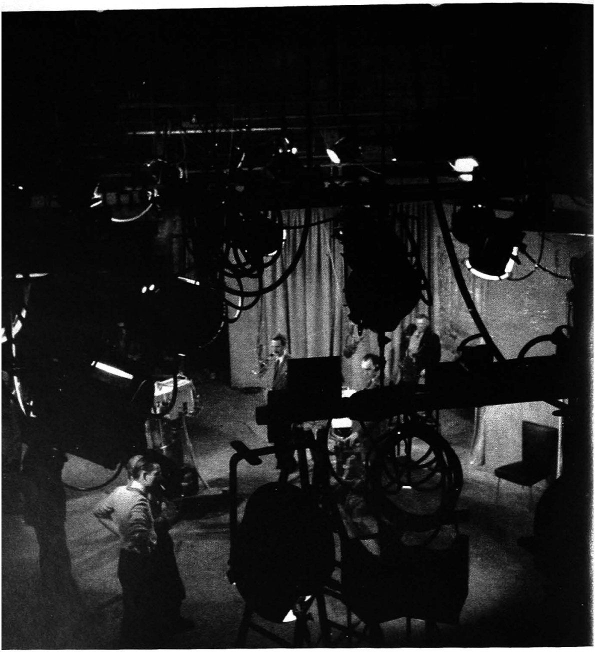
But the films had been shot "silent". So once back in Paris it remained not only to cut them, but also to add the sound track.

In the first telecast, a film was to be presented by a countryman who was the author of the story and acted in it as well. The recording of his commentary was attended by circumstances which are worth describing.

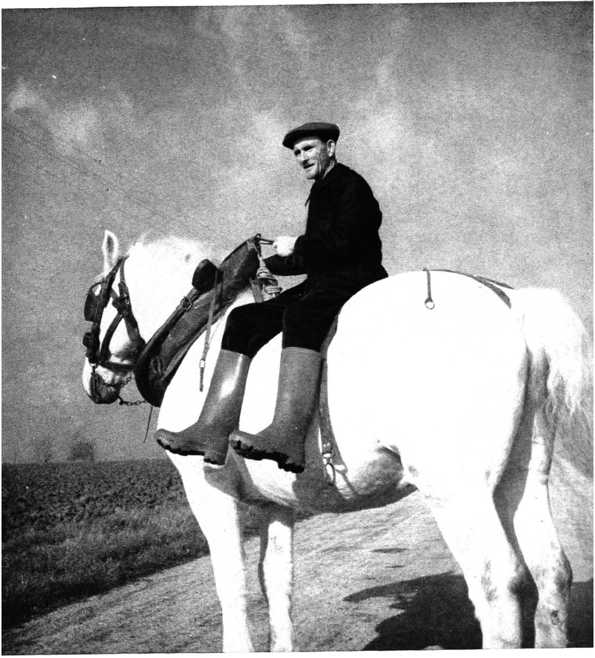
This Mr. Demarck—a wine-grower at Grouttes, a little village in the south of the Aisne—had been asked to write the commentary for his own story, as related in the film. But the commentary, when written down and read back by its author, seemed "all wrong" in some puzzling way. Even the actual sound was disagreeable. M. Demarck's characteristically rugged voice, which the producer was bent on



Filming on location. *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*



Live telecast in the main studio of the Télévision Française.
(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)



Professional actor or farmer-actors? *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*

Demarck—No one could present the life of the peasant better than he himself.
(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

using, sounded artificial, and the words completely without individuality.

After several unsuccessful attemps, the producer wrote a different text—with no better luck.

On the verge of giving up the method of "the story told by its author", the organizers then said to Mr. Demarck, as a last hope; "Try to imagine you're telling your story to a pal . . . keep pace with the picture, but if you can't manage that don't worry . . . just carry on!"

"What about my paper?"

"Put it in your pocket and forget it!"

"Ready? . . . Go ahead!"

We then from behind the glass partition, watched the unique sight of a peasant alone in front of the microphone, gesticulating and grimacing as he told his story—now being shown on the screen—to an imaginary friend. It went on for 20 minutes, by the end of which time Mr. Demarck, without a page of script, had recorded a faultless commentary with no over-running. The sound engineer had never known anything like it before!

PREPARING THE "LIVE" TELECASTS

To find people who could take part in the discussions to be televised direct from the studio was even more difficult than to find countryfolk who could illustrate their own lives before a film camera. The producer had to solve two problems: he must find people all of whom were capable of putting their views clearly in words that the public could understand, and some of whom were ready to come out in public against widely-accepted solutions such as the re-allocation of land, or co-operation. A few examples taken from the producer's notes will serve to illustrate these problems:

"For the third telecast, on credit, we had to find four representative participants—two industrialists, and two peasants (one small and one big farmer). The debate on such a subject was bound to be lively, and we had to make sure that it would not degenerate into a fist fight in front of the camera. The participants had to be carefully selected, but there were only two days left. . . .

"We called a scratch meeting of industrialists in the television offices gave them a subject and started them discussing it. The discussion was closely followed by the produ-

cer and the director, who watched every detail of the participants' behaviour, manner of talking, etc. By the end of the discussion two people had definitely come to the fore; they were asked to take part in the programme two days later, and accepted. The two peasants still had to be found. The producer spent the day before the telecast driving about the Aisne countryside looking for two men who could hold their own in an argument with vocal and well-informed industrialists. With the help of local rumour, which gave clues as to who could stand their ground in these circumstances, he brought back with him in the evening two farmers whom he had relentlessly snatched from their peaceful homes. . . .

"Rehearsals began on the morning of the day for which the programme was fixed, and took on from the very start a heated tone which had to be restrained and yet encouraged. The participants were certainly in no danger of 'drying up' that evening!"

The country people's reluctance to give vent in public to views which might seem old-fashioned is shown in the following note on the difficulties met with while preparing the fourth telecast, on the re-allocation of land:

"About 50 per cent of farm folk are uncompromisingly hostile to the present method of re-allocating land, while 50 per cent fiercely defend it.

"But while the supporters bring sound arguments in support of their views, the opponents justify their attitude by almost exclusively personal considerations. (I'd have liked that piece of ground, but they didn't give it to me. . . . My neighbour got the best of it, etc. . . .)

"Even while making the film to illustrate the difficulties encountered in connexion with the re-allocation process, the producer was obliged to co-ordinate the criticisms which various participants made in an undertone, and try to give them a general application.

"The 'live' part of the programme was to consist partly of a discussion between a peasant who approved of re-allocation, a peasant who disapproved, and a technical expert.

"Despite a thorough search, it proved impossible to find an opponent who had sound arguments to put forward, as the peasants who were notorious for their violent opposition to re-allocation refused, one after the other, to come before the camera and explain their views, for fear of seeming 'reactionary'.

"The balance of the programme was thus endangered.

"We could, of course, have 'invented' a worth-while opponent by asking an actor to take the part and using a written script; but the producer was against this, as a matter of principle.

"Rehearsals took place, therefore, without an opposer; but a new difficulty arose when the technical expert was found to have an impressive flow of speech.

"The producer asked him to explain in a few words the technical aspect of re-allocation, whereupon he began a long discourse which dealt merely with the preliminary work he had to complete before embarking on the actual re-allocation.

"His speech, though very interesting, was of course much too long. On the other hand, he had that rare quality, a striking 'television personality', and this had at all costs to be taken advantage of.

"The whole of the day immediately preceding that of the telecast was spent in trying to stem the flood of oratory of a man whose command of his subject was quite exceptional, but who was yearning to display it in the minutest detail. When the evening performance came along, the producer had his work cut out to prevent the discussion from becoming a mere monologue.

"It is quite understandable that specialists, justifiably proud of their fine achievements, should want to describe these as fully as possible. This confronts the producer with one of the most important problems which can arise in composing a cultural programme: the expert is indispensable, but his technicalities may easily prove too much for non-technical viewers to swallow. It still remains to work out a suitable type of telecast for the general public and to perfect it by degrees, so that the audiences and the well-intentioned experts can learn as they go along."

This telecast made a considerable stir in several tele-clubs, where people accused Roger Louis of being a "propagandist" and preventing the opponents of re-allocation from gaining a hearing. Fortunately, this was the only case where it was not found possible to give the opposition view; for in the only other telecast (no. 6, on co-operatives) where no representative of the opposing party could be found, one of the participants agreed to serve as "devil's advocate". Accordingly, this countryman, though he himself approved of co-operation, put forward the arguments he had often heard from neighbours. He was familiar with these

criticisms because he was accustomed to refuting them; but for once he used them without contradicting them.

"Rehearsals were held, and this man acquitted himself perfectly. We had been forced to depart from the principle we had so far been able to maintain—that of leaving each participant to say what he really thought; but we had avoided bringing in a professional actor. Even if the spokesman of those hostile to co-operation did not share their opinion, he at least knew that there were some serious grounds for holding it. The drawback was that his friends and neighbours might see him defending views they knew he did not share, and the inconsistency would perhaps make not only this sixth telecast, but the series as a whole, seem less convincing to them."

Professional actor or peasant-actor? Experience has supplied a clear answer to this question. No one could present the life of the peasant better than himself; even when it came to putting forward other people's views, the non-professional who knew his subject inside out carried more conviction than a professional actor could ever have done.

VI. Subjects of the 13 telecasts

Here is the list of the 13 telecasts which made up the "Etat d'urgence" series, as actually given.

1. Thursday 7 January: "What I saw among you".
2. Thursday 14 January: "Moucherelle farm" (motorization on a large farm).
3. Thursday 21 January: "Credit".
4. Thursday 28 January: "Partition and ownership" (Land reallocation).
5. Thursday 4 February: "The community spirit".
6. Thursday 11 February: "Co-operation no. I".
7. Thursday 18 February: "Co-operation no. II".
8. Wednesday 24 February: "Co-operation abroad".
9. Wednesday 3 March: "Over-production?".
10. Wednesday 10 March: "Women in the country".
11. Wednesday 17 March: "The country homestead".

12. Wednesday 24 March: "The story of Bernard" (rural youth).
13. Wednesday 31 March: "Summing up".

In order to understand the results achieved by "Etat d'urgence" in the tele-clubs, the reader must be made acquainted with these 13 telecasts. Our intention is to convey, as faithfully as possible, the essence of the ideas, style and technique employed in each of them. We shall not analyse their content according to the rules established by psycho-sociologists such as Berelson. The purpose of the following description is different, and more limited. Its chief aim is to give some idea of the impressions left by "Etat d'urgence" as a series.

FIRST TELECAST

"What I Saw Among You"

Technique used	*Contents*
1. *Direct* Commentary by the producer and leader, Mr. Roger Louis.	Explanation of the title and brief account of the whole problem of agriculture. Two objects are shown to drive this problem home—a close-up of a *food ration card* to take viewers back to the period not so long ago when France did not have enough to eat, and a *bank note* to show that food is still rationed, but in another way. Town and country folk alike have to find out together why French agriculture is not meeting everyone's needs and why farmers themselves are no longer "getting enough" out of agriculture. The aim of this series is to investigate what is wrong with French agriculture.
2. *Telefilm* On the village of Viffort in the Aisne Department.	The lovely countryside as seen by the passing tourist. But let us have a closer look. Here is Viffort with its 227 inhabitants—a "dying" village. No water laid on; the villagers draw water at the fountain. The only shop in the village is a musty old place which hardly anyone visits. The newest piece of building is the 1914-18 war memorial. The children playing their games dart about among houses that look as if they are about to collapse. They go into the old twelfth-century church, now practically in ruins and play the old

harmonium. They take to their heels at the sudden noise and echo.

The population is rapidly dwindling. Why? The village is scattered, work has few prospects, and the roads are bad. The village is made up of 17 hamlets spread over a distance of some 10 miles.

View of a farm, owned by "Père Lecomte"—30 hectares,[1] 4 horses, 10 cows. For 30 years Mrs. Lecomte has been getting up every morning *to milk the cows.* *It is a dull life with little family* companionship, taken up with looking after the animals, ploughing. unrelieved work. In the evenings Mr. Lecomte goes to sleep over his newspaper. He is single-handed. His son has left the farm to become a soldier in North Africa; here, life was too hard. Mr. Lecomte is now going to sell his farm. And all this is happening 50 miles from Paris.

3. *Direct*
Commentary by the producer. Discussion between the producer and Mr. Lecomte.

Life on the land is indeed hard. Ten hours' work every day. Why did Mr. Lecomte's boy leave home? The father himself is going to tell you. "This is no made-up story. Mr. Lecomte is here behind me."

We have just seen Mr. Lecomte on his own farm. Here he is in the studio. His boy wanted to buy a *tractor* to make work easier. But the tractor would have cost too much. Mr. Lecomte couldn't afford one, yet that would have been the only means of keeping his son on the land.

A third person speaks, Mr. Demarck, a peasant who has managed to buy a tractor.

The new speaker is thoroughly won over to the advantages of *mechanization.* "I'm a firm believer in mechanization." But it also has its dangers and drawbacks.

4. *Telefilm*
Mr. Demarck's tractor (filmed in the village of Crouttes, Aisne).

Mr. Demarck clubbed together with friends to buy a tractor. The neighbours were sceptical and curious. "They're all perfectly right; but so am I." The new owner is anxious about whether the tractor will manage to get up his steeply-sloping fields. It does so successfully but all sorts of problems arise —handling of the machine, spare parts etc. One day the tractor breaks down and has to be hauled back by horses.

The tractor is only a beginning. It is unsuitable for small plots of land, and thus raises the problem of the *re-allocation of land.* And if horses are dis-

1. See footnote on p. 41.

pensed with altogether the manure supply is cut off. Can artificial *fertilizers* replace natural manure?

Then again, there is the question of paying off the capital expenditure involved. It is better to club together—which raises the question of *co-operation.*

Mr. Demarck can afford such expense because he has vineyards in addition to his other fields. Wine pays better. The advantages of *several crops.* "Wasn't I right?"

5. *Return to the direct discussion*
R. Louis, Mr. Lecomte and Mr. Demarck.

Mechanization is only one aspect of *modernization*; taken by itself, it presents serious dangers. Modernization requires not only confidence but also a plan of action and, above all, suitable *vocational training* for farmers. It creates financial problems that can be solved only by co-operation.

But Mr. Demarck's children have remained on the farm.

6. *Direct*
Roger Louis talks to his audience.

Tele-club audiences are invited to discuss together the problems raised by the telecast.

SECOND TELECAST

"Moucherelle Farm" (motorization on a large farm)

1. *Direct*
Introduction by Roger Louis. Pictures from a medieval Book of Hours.

Let us begin by looking back into the past to try and find an answer to the question raised in the first programme.

History shows us that the development of farm tools is part of a more general evolution.

For a very long time these tools remained unchanged and then suddenly, within a lifetime —that of your grandfather or your father—peasants abandoned the scythe for the reaper-binder.

2. *Telefilm*
Visit the Musée des Arts et Métiers.

Yet machines too have their own history. A few types of machinery used before the machine age (viewers are urged to visit the museum).

3. *Direct*
Talk by R. Louis.

Peasants are wrong when they say: "There is no reason why I should change my methods; my father and grandfather managed all right with what they had." Their fathers did have to adapt themselves

to new conditions. The present generation must do likewise by changing over from the horse to the tractor.

Yet mechanization, though unavoidable, involves an extensive readjustment of working methods.

Is such adjustment possible ? Here is something that happened in our own Department of the Aisne, on Moucherelle Farm. The farmer is called Mr. Leguillette, and he has worked this farm for twenty-five years.

4. *Telefilm*
Visit to Moucherelle farm.

We see the farmer in his office, on the telephone, and watch the cows being machine-milked. Mr. Leguillette takes us over his farm—230 hectares, all in one block, carrying 180 animals. The farm was bought in 1923. It was gradually reorganized and improved, through the use of all resources in the cause of modernisation. Purchase of the first tractors. Successes and setbacks. By experimentation a solution is found to the problems that are constantly arising. Mr. Leguillette now has 25 million francs' worth of machinery. The sons are doing advanced vocational study.

The telefilm is interspersed with views of the farm, as it was and as it is.

The homes of the farm-hands have also been improved. Mr. Leguillette's life has been completely changed; mechanization has brought him comfort and prosperity which have made it comparable with that of a city industrialist.

Many problems of course still remain, especially that of setting the children up in life. Mr. Leguillette is obliged to raise loans which he is not always sure of being able to repay.

5. *Direct*
R. Louis talks to his audience.

Naturally, Mr. Leguillette's situation cannot be compared with that of the small farmers. With his 90 acres he can hardly be called a peasant. But what he has achieved on a large scale can surely be attempted by you smaller peasants, on your own level.

What are the obstacles ? They will be considered in the following programmes, but meanwhile there is no denying that modernization is a question of life or death for the whole of French agriculture.

THIRD TELECAST

"Credit"

Technique used	*Contents*
1. *Direct* Introduction by R. Louis.	Justification of the series' title. It is an urgent matter to modernize agriculture. The first obstacle in the way is the financial problem. Modernization means mechanization, and that is costly. Small farmers haven't enough assets for the purpose.
2. *Direct*	A round-table discussion between two industrialists, a big farmer, a small farmer and R. Louis. In order to modernize a small farm, an average of 5 million francs is needed. What can be obtained through agricultural credit, since such a sum is beyond the means of the small farmer ?
3. *Telefilm* Extracts from a film on agricultural credit.	Le Crédit Agricole (agricultural credit), which operates as a mutual aid society, grants farmers long-term loans at very advantageous rates; but there is a limit to the amount of money available. Only some of the requests can be met.
4. *Direct* Resumption of the discussion.	An industrialist finds these advantages unfair. He, too, would like to be able to borrow on equally favourable terms. He has difficulty in understanding why the peasants hesitate to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered them. However, farmers run risks unknown in other walks of life—dependence on atmospheric conditions, and a long wait for "return". The discussion becomes heated. "Wait a minute" says the small farmer, "do those industrialists really look as if they were hard done by ?" It is clear enough, however, that industry needs a prosperous agriculture. But misunderstanding and ill-feeling have gradually built up a barrier between townsmen and countryfolk. The small farmer, in a fury, shouts at his interlocutors: "If we small farmers are ruined, so will you be too !"
5. *Direct* R. Louis, conclusions.	The leader sums up the discussion. Small farmers cannot alone, at their level, solve the general problem involved in the modernization of French agriculture, which requires thousands of millions of francs. They should, however, now take the first step, so far as they themselves are concerned, by endeavouring

to make better use of their resources and the credit facilities available to them. R. Louis asks viewers the question that a peasant economist, Arthaud, put in one of his books:[1] "Is it better to save up for a whole lifetime in order to buy one two extra hectares to be worked with the same old-fashioned tools, or to try to gradually improve what one already has and modernize one's farm, however small it may be ?"

FOURTH TELECAST

"Partition and Ownership"

1. *Direct*
R. Louis gives a few facts. He shows the cadastral survey of a commune where there has been no re-allocation of land. Views of the places where the facts related occurred. Interview with an agricultural engineer responsible for land re-allocation in the Aisne Department.

The second obstacle to the modernization of small farms is the splitting-up of properties.

A few examples illustrate the urgent need for the re-allocation of land, as well as its difficulties.

France is divided into 150 million units of land, which is worked by 3 million farmers. This makes an average of 50 units per farmer. But the land is not all of the same value; peasants are jealous of one another; and the re-allocation of land is a costly business (4,500 francs per hectare), apart from which it takes time (an average of four years per village). At present, land has been re-allocated in only 1,800 communes out of a total of 38,000, and at this rate it would take 100 years to complete the process. After which one would have to begin all over again.

2. *Telefilm*
La Chapelle-sur-Chézy.

Land is being re-allocated in a village, La Chapelle-sur-Chézy. The cadastral survey is projected on the screen. We then go to the town hall, where a heated discussion between those concerned is in progress. One farmer, after a violent outburst goes off in a huff. In an interview, he dwells on the drawbacks of the solutions proposed. The school is thrown onto the screen; the children there will one day say whether today's measures were "worth while" or not.

1. Arthaud, *Le métier de l'agriculteur*, Ed. Economie et humanisme.

Technique used	Contents
3. *Direct* Conclusions by R. Louis.	Should farms or properties be regrouped ? This is a serious problem. But if nothing is done, the smaller farmers will be swallowed up by the bigger ones. This is already happening in some areas. You small farmers must think over this question and discuss it among yourselves.

FIFTH TELECAST

"The Community Spirit"

1. *Direct* R. Louis.	The programme on the re-allocation of land has brought in a large mail for the producer. Not all the correspondents agree with the remedies proposed, but all recognize the disastrous consequences of the splitting-up of land and concede that the greatest obstacle to all possible solutions is the absence of any real community spirit in the village. The development of our villages is greatly hampered by individualism; yet it is not hard to revive the community spirit. Tele-clubs themselves are an example : television sets are very costly but, by clubbing together, the inhabitants of many villages have purchased a set for their joint benefit.
2. *Telefilm*	Founding of the Nogentel tele-club, an example of community effort. Could not the effort that these country folk have made in regard to television also be applied to the solution of other problems ?
3. *Direct* Discussion.	An official of the Ministry of Agriculture comes and talks about community organization in many mountain villages where natural hardships (climate) have accustomed the peasants to practise constant mutual aid.
4. *Direct* R. Louis.	In conclusion, we see that present-day economic conditions will bring home to peasants in other parts of France the fact that they can no longer "manage" except by actively co-operating with one another.

SIXTH TELECAST

"Co-operation no. 1"

Technique used	*Contents*
1. *Direct* R. Louis—discussion of a few letters from viewers.	The telecast on the community spirit has also produced letters from many viewers. Some of them agree with us; others accuse the "Etat d'urgence" series of making propaganda in favour of co-operatives. The interest aroused by the films and discussions of the previous telecast encourages the producer to continue along the same lines.
2. *Telefilm* Extract from a film on the Alpine pasturing system.	The community spirit has always made itself felt, eventually, in the economic sphere. One of the best illustrations of this fact is the Alpine pasturing system, practised in certain mountain districts ever since the middle ages, and already referred to in the previous telecast. The inhabitants bring their herds together to be driven onto the uplands. One bull is enough for all.
3. *Direct* R. Louis.	The community spirit is a way of life. In our regions it is reflected, with varying success, in the co-operative system. What do peasants think of their co-operatives ? Are they imbued with the community spirit ? Two farmers come and discuss the question. The first is vehement in his criticism of co-operatives—these, he says, have now become too large and impersonal; each member is only a number, and the director can never be seen; the co-operatives have reached inhuman dimensions. You are in fact—the other objects—criticizing the co-operatives for being too successful. If co-operatives are to have any effect on the agricultural market, surely they must be large and powerful ? Of course—comes the reply—but co-operatives no longer reflect the will of their members, who have no real influence on the Director, and do not even receive the refunds to which they are entitled.
4. *Telefilm*	One of the farmers then speaks of the situation prevailing before the development of co-operatives, when farmers had to make long journeys and the smaller farmers were unable to stand up to highly organized middle men. The small farmer formerly carried his produce by railway himself, and so wasted time and money.

Technique used	*Contents*
5. *Direct*	The discussion is continued in the presence of the director of a large dairy co-operative, who replies to criticism. At present, co-operatives have to make substantial investments so as to keep in the forefront of progress. The dairy directed by the speaker started with a capital of 12 million francs and later had to invest over 100 million in various kinds of equipment. Through co-operation, producers control part of the processing of their products and reduce the profit made by middlemen at their expense. Finally if members of co-operatives are not satisfied with their organization, they should voice their opinions at the general meetings. They are the masters.
6. *Telefilm*	Visit to the Dairy Co-operative at Château-Thierry, which handles 25,000 litres of milk a day.
7. *Direct*	The discussion is resumed. Many farmers fear the tendency shown by certain co-operatives to become unwieldy. Nevertheless, with all its faults, the co-operative remains the only really effective remedy for most of the economic problems encountered by farmers. R. Louis sums up the discussion. The co-operative is necessary. But has it become too large ? Should farmers revert to smaller units This question will be discussed by the tele-clubs.

SEVENTH TELECAST

"Co-operation no. II"

1. *Direct* R. Louis.	After the criticism levelled at the principle of co-operation, we shall trace the history of a co-operative which, over the thirty years of its existence, has lost none of its community spirit.
2. *Telefilm*	History of the *Wine Producers' Co-operative of Mailly-Champagne*, founded in 1924 when there was a disastrous slump in sales. It managed to hold its own, thanks to the united efforts of its members and their dogged perseverance. It now ensures the annual sale of 150,000 bottles of Champagne.

3. *Direct*

The director of the Mailly-Champagne Co-operative is shown in the studio alongside Roger Louis and enlivens the history just recounted with a few personal reminiscences.

Discussion.

He is joined by the representative of the Fédération nationale de la coopération agricole (National Federation for Agricultural Co-operation), a city industrialist, and a senior official of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The industrialist complains bitterly of certain co-operatives' competitiveness with private industry. They do not sell any cheaper to the consumer, and do not pay any more to the producer. Most of them, therefore, are useless.

The defenders of co-operatives retort that even if they do not pay any more to producers (which is often true) their mere presence is a guarantee against exorbitant prices. They act as price-regulators on the market, and are a positive factor in modernization and progress. This telecast, like the third (dealing with agricultural credit), gave rise to heated discussion in the tele-clubs. Some farmers with a deep-rooted dislike for the towns followed the discussions between their representatives and the spokesmen of industry as if they were verbal pitched battles, or at any rate serious sports events.

EIGHTH TELECAST

"Co-operation abroad"

1. *Direct* Introduction by R. Louis.

Co-operation is a world-wide phenomenon. Co-operatives in the different countries have a total membership amounting to several hundred millions. How are they administered outside France ? This question may be of interest to French peasants, who will see from pictures of other lands how their colleagues there have set about solving their problems.

2. *Telefilm*

A documentary on co-operation in India. Re-allocation of land, agricultural credit, mechanization. This far off country faces the same problems as France, but on a very much larger scale. The

government is encouraging the growth of co-operatives, but the country will need outside help.

Next comes a film on co-operation in Denmark —a country famous for its co-operatives, which have built up the prosperity of Danish agriculture. Each peasant belongs to a good half-dozen co-operative associations. This is a fine example of success.

Finally, a third film shows how Canadian fishermen survived the economic depression by setting up their own fish-canning co-operative.

3. *Direct*

One of the founders of the International Co-operative Alliance draws the inferences from this rapid survey of co-operation throughout the world. Despite differences in local conditions, French farmers can learn much from their colleagues abroad, as regards the spirit that should imbue their association and the legal and economic aspects of the problem.

NINTH TELECAST

"Over-production?"

The whole programme is *direct.*

R. Louis raises the problem of the over-production dreaded by the peasants. He reminds viewers of certain pre-war periods when wheat was "thrown away" while millions of human beings were starving to death. Is the same story to be repeated ? Can there be any fear of over-production while three-fifths of the world's population are underfed ? On the other hand, French farmers have difficulty in marketing their produce, and it is at this very juncture that the General Commissariat for Planned Modernization advocates a 20 per cent increase of agricultural production in France.

Discussion.

Several persons gather round R. Louis to talk over this problem together—one of the most influential leaders of French agricultural trade unionism, a farmer who at the same time is a writer and an economist, a representative of the General Commissariat for Planned Modernization, and the President of a Departmental Chamber of Agriculture.

The farmer opens the discussion. He can't understand what is going on. "We are told to produce more, and the more we produce the less we get for

it. Yesterday I destroyed 3,000 kilograms of carrots that I couldn't sell."

But while producers are faced with these difficulties, France imports 100 milliard francs' worth of agricultural produce a year. Our imports must be reduced, we must increase our exports and, above all, we must adapt our production to the markets available. The population of France is increasing and Europe would be only too glad to purchase in francs the produce that now has to be paid for in dollars. We must produce more; but our products must often be better, more varied and, above all, cheaper.

Farmers have difficulty in following this reasoning, which involves considerable familarity with national and international economic affairs. Here we come to the problem of vocational training. But in any case, while the community is entitled to ask for a fresh effort from agriculture, while it can and must ask for more, better, cheaper and—occasionally—other produce, it should in return protect the farmer against the risks involved in this process of adjustment, which he cannot shoulder alone. If the government asks the farmer for higher output, it must guarantee him the sale of his produce at a stable minimum price.

TENTH TELECAST

"Women in the country"

1. *Direct* R. Louis presents the problem.

In each of the previous telecasts reference, and often frequent reference, has been made to the situation of country-women. It would be pointless to try to modernize French agriculture without improving the lot of countrywomen, who are bound like slaves to wearisome work, the use of outdated equipment, and a badly organized timetable. It is hardly surprising that most girls' one ambition nowadays is to leave their father's farm, "where life is too hard".

Discussion.

Roger Louis gathers round him for this discussion an agricultural domestic science teacher, a city housewife, a peasant girl from the Tarn Department and a peasant housewife from the Aisne. But the

Technique used	*Contents*
	discussion is preceded by a film showing how all too many countrywomen have to live today.
2. *Telefilm*	The life of a farmer's wife in Vendieres (Aisne). "Everyone is always hungry, animals and people alike; there is no end to it all. . . ." No running water, and a muddy courtyard. The daughter wants to marry a man from the city.
3. *Direct*	The discussion continues.—Couldn't the farmer's wife organize her work better ? For instance, she could stop her hens from laying in any old place; the use of the various buildings could be better planned. But proper organization is a thing that has to be learnt.
4. *Telefilm* The agricultural domestic science school at Dilly (Aisne).	An agricultural domestic science school, showing its pupils, what they do, what they learn and the methods used.
5. *Direct* R. Louis, then resumption of the discussion.	But when girls leave the school where they have spent a year learning to use all modern aids for the housewife, how will they react when they return to their own homes, where equipment is lacking and they have to take up their old round of work? They will have a struggle and will have to exert their influence on their surroundings, gradually persuading their parents or husbands of the advantages to be reaped from small investments and some measure of reorganisation.
6. *Telefilm*	A film, showing a home that the farmer's wife has planner methodically, will bear out this statement.
7. *Direct* Resumption of the discussion.	The peasant girl from the Tarn protests that this over-simplifies the problem. "If may father could afford to buy a tractor, I wouldn't need to help with the ploughing any more—that's the hardest thing for a woman—and I could devote my time to the household." But apart from money questions, old folk don't like having their habits changed. "Despite everything I say to him, my father still persists in drying his maize in the kitchen." All too often the men are content to pity the women (if indeed they go so far) and do nothing to ease their burden. Perhaps the only way out is for girls to refuse to marry farmers until the latter

can bring themselves to spend some of their money in improving the lot of countrywomen.

But the State, too, cannot disclaim responsibility. Once all homes have running water in the kitchen many of the women's troubles will be over.

In short, men and women, families and communities, must realize the importance of the problem and bring some imagination and understanding to it. That is one of the keys to the destiny of French agriculture.

ELEVENTH TELECAST

"The country homestead"

1. *Direct* Presentation by R. Louis.

The problem of the homestead is directly bound up with that of countrywomen. It has many different aspects and is one of the key factors in modernization. In this telecast there will not be time to deal with more than the technical aspects of the problem, to the exclusion of its financial and human aspects. In any case, all we can do is to set a discussion going.

Discussion. Showing of photos and sketches.

Two architects responsible for reconstruction, and an expert on the organization of agricultural work, have come to the studio with R. Louis this evening. They will explain, with the help of photos and sketches, a new approach to the problem of the country homestead and farm buildings in areas where the war destroyed everything and made it necessary to begin all over again.

The chief aim in all this work is to simplify every task, and to save time by eliminating all unnecessary effort. Buildings and their use are planned more rationally through a process of regrouping and standardization.

In order to have a standard for comparison, the time spent by farmworkers in moving from one place to another was measured before and after reorganization, and it was found that for every 16 hours so spent before reorganization only 10 hours were spent after it, i.e. there was a saving of six hours.

Much of this reorganization could be carried out even in areas that have suffered no destruction. For

instance, if buildings were linked up by concrete paths, goods could be transferred between them more easily.

Here again, however, we come up against the problem of funds. A law concerning country homesteads provides for subsidies on a 50/50 basis for persons wishing to modernize their properties. But although 20,000 requests have already been met, demand far exceeds the possibilities of satisfying it. It has been possible to carry out barely a tenth of the operations required.

Farmers could, of course, themselves make a fresh effort. But they would then need : suitable training and information; more substantial financial support.

TWELFTH TELECAST

"The story of Bernard" (rural youth)

1. *Telefilm*

Bernard, the son of a small farmer, has come back from the army where he lived another kind of life. The future held out for him in the village does not appeal to him. For 18 months he has chewed over the insult always hurled at him in his regiment : "You're just a clod-hopper". Bernard wants to be his own master, to join up with a friend in Paris, to stroll along the boulevards with pretty girls. He wants to be off—and the film shows his last afternoon in the village. He is walking towards a mirage—six miles to the station. Why is he going ?

2. *Direct* Discussion.

Roger Louis, a young farm labour, a representative of the Catholic Young Farmers' Club, the mayor of a small commune in the Seine-et-Oise Department and the Director of Agricultural Training in the Ministry of Agriculture are going to try to explain the position.

Bernard is leaving because he is not earning a living; because working conditions are unbearable. There are tens of thousands of Bernards whose one ambition is to "get away". It is the best and most energetic young men who do it. Bernard is bored in his village, where there is no entertainment. And he is not free; his father pays him nothing and keeps him in subjection. In the town he hopes for

more rapid promotion. Every year 60,000 young people leave the country for the town. Within the space of a few decades 600,000 have left a single province, Brittany.

What can be done about this drift to the towns? To begin with, recreation should be organized and more comfortable conditions provided; roads should be improved, and water laid on; a "country centre" should be set up for recreation, educational activities and television. But young people, for their part, should understand that leaving the country usually gets them nowhere. They should try to club together, to do something in their own village, set up their own sports or study centres, and ask for assistance; they should never "give up". Funds are available, but there is a tremendous demand for them. If they begin on their own, the municipality will often follow and give them support. They have to prove their worth.

Then there is the question of vocational training. Young people in the country learn their work on the spot—by watching how things are done, without any theoretical training, without being able to make any comparisons and broaden their experience. The authorities should help them to travel and study in other parts of France, and abroad. Young workers who leave school at the age of fourteen also need some training. The State spends 25 milliard francs on vocational training in industry, as against 1 milliard for agricultural training. So young people go off to the towns, where with some luck they can enter an apprenticeship organisation. Once again, Bernard's story ultimately leads us to the problem of organization, funds and government policy.

THIRTEENTH TELECAST

"Summing Up"

Direct
R. Louis.

Summing up and conclusion. It is difficult, after so cursory a survey, to draw conclusions about so vast a field, where everything is interlinked, where we are always coming up against the same problems and the same needs.

The telecasts have prompted different reactions—some favourable, even to the point of enthusiasm, and others hostile, not to say furious. This was because they touched on vital points. One conclusion to be drawn is this : the peasant today must "change his skin", his outlook. There was a time when the farmer's life was one that people "put up with"; now it must become a trade to be learnt. Being born on a farm is not sufficient preparation for the art of farming; the lack of any serious vocational training is one of the chief obstacles to modernization. In this as in so many other fields, the authorities are clearly not doing enough.

Discussion. A discussion then ensues between the Director of the Fédération Nationale des Centres d'Etudes Techniques Agricoles (National Federation of Agricultural Study Centres), the director of an agricultural college, and the assistant secretary-general of the Federation of Mayors of France. Their topic for discussion is agricultural training, its lack of rational organization, and its urgency.

Unfortunately, farmers themselves are not yet convinced that it is necessary. An information campaign should be conducted among heads of families, so as to induce them to demand the establishment of many more courses and schools. Another difficulty is the shortage of funds. This is a general problem, and the second greatest obstacle to modernization. It is felt at the individual level by farmers themselves, and on a nation-wide scale by the State. But the funds available are not always put to the best use. The authorities should at long last define an agricultural policy : to strike a balance between the needs of town and country, based on genuine fellow-feeling; to make the commune the basis of all efforts towards modernization. Modernization does not "come of itself".

This is a sphere in which the ordinary citizen can do something. Within his own commune, each person can make some effort, launch ideas, try out experiments and demand the community's support for them. Without waiting for the answer to come (though knowing that a reform of the State's agricultural policy is essential), "you too can make your own individual contribution to bring about a change ".

SECTION II

RESULTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES

I. The problem

To find out the results of the "Etat d'urgence" series we adopted the same practice as for other programmes. But viewers' reactions to this series, and the educational value of the programmes, were analysed in greater detail. Once again, we both observed behaviour and sounded opinions without interfering with the regular work of the tele-clubs or their members' established habits in and outside the club. Our methods and techniques of psycho-sociological evaluation first had to be adapted to the particular outlook of club members. We had to be specially careful not to distort group or individual reactions to "Etat d'urgence" under the pretext of obtaining tidy but perhaps unreliable statistics. The "log-book" in which reactions during each programme were noted down was kept by the teacher-observer, with a few assistants who had been trained in the principles and methods of observation during the preparatory course at Marly.[1] The initial and final surveys (method no. 2) were conducted in the form of direct interviews by the leaders, who were already used to getting persons whom they knew well to fill up printed forms.[2] Of course, with this method there is often a larger number of persons who fail to reply, and the answers are less detailed than with an ordinary opinion survey. But the main concern was not to force our countryfolk into giving replies that would have had no genuine value. It was even more important than with the general survey of telecasts to analyse only the absolutely genuine reactions.

If we were to assess opinions regarding the "Etat d'urgence" series and its effects on viewers, it was essential

1. See Note on Methods: Organization of team work, p. 225.
2. Most of our teacher-observers are primary school teachers performing the duties of town clerk, and in this capacity they often have to get printed forms filled up.

to have some standard of comparison. The attitudes of viewers to modernization were studied before the series, and were used as a yardstick in all subsequent evaluation.

We then considered the interest taken by viewers in the 13 telecasts. For this purpose our findings on attendance at programmes were supplemented by an analysis of the opinions voiced by viewers concerning the problems of producing the telecasts.

Lastly, we noted a few effects of the "Etat d'urgence" series on the ideas of viewers, the wishes they expressed and their behaviour both in and outside the club. During the programme we noted in the "log-book" any variations in members' participation in the discussion. We were also able to record the exact remarks made, and compare them with the contents of the telecasts and the ideas which the same people had expressed, before the series, to explain their attitudes. We tried to grasp the desires created by the telecast among viewers, by jotting down any wishes expressed during the discussion. Lastly, after the whole series of telecasts, attitudes towards modernization were assessed once again by asking the same persons the same questions in much the same way; and though the interval between the two checks was short we were able to record a few interesting changes which were borne out by new behaviour.

II. Before "Etat d'urgence": attitude of viewers towards modernization

At the outset we had some inkling of the difficulties facing the areas where our tele-clubs operate. The villages are poorly equipped and modernization is a vital necessity. To find out the attitude of the population towards this problem[1] we first wanted to know whether the existing equipment was considered adequate or not by the users themselves, and, where equipment was non-existent or inadequate, whether these people were anxious to purchase or improve it, as the case might be. The replies to these "closed" questions, covering a specific list of items used in

1. Initial referendum on reactions to modernization (method no. 2).

Life goes on as it has for centuries past ... Traditional tools ...
(Photo: Viollet.)

... primitive domestic conditions. *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*

individual and collective agricultural equipment, public equipment and household equipment, were cross-checked by the spontaneous wishes expressed in reply to the following "open-end" questions: "If, in 1954, you had an extra 20,000 francs (50,000, 500,000) income, what would you do with the money?" "If, in 1954, your mayor had sufficient extra funds in his budget to allow him to do something big for the commune, what would you advise him to do?"

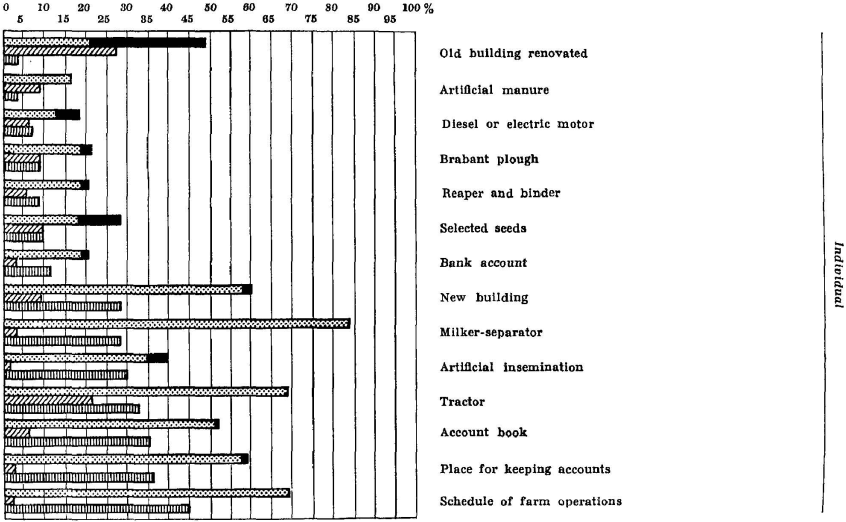
First we put the questions about individual and group agricultural equipment just to the small farmers, whose produce forms the very basis of French agriculture and whose difficulties are accordingly in most urgent need of attention. Then we put the questions about public and household equipment to tele-club members of all occupations and ages, and of both sexes. This method gave us greater insight into the attitude of the small farmers, which could then be compared with the reactions of other groups, so as to isolate those groups most hostile to modernization.

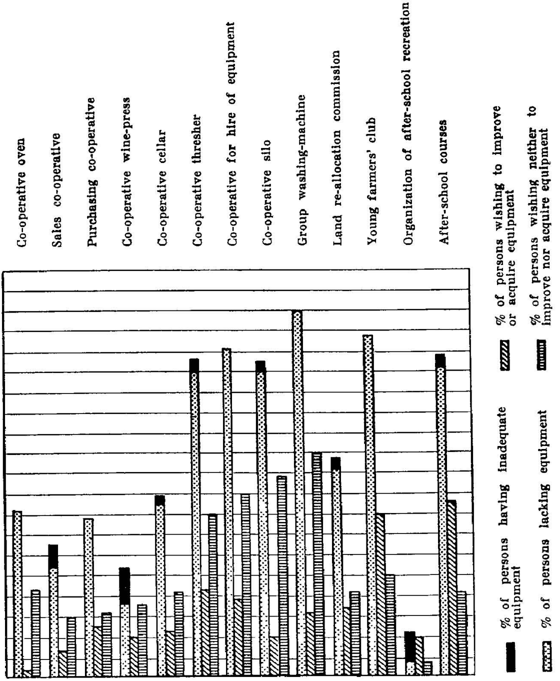
ATTITUDE OF SMALL FARMERS TOWARDS THE MODERNIZATION OF FARM EQUIPMENT ON AN INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE BASIS

The attitudes adopted vary considerably. Each individual wishes to purchase—if he does not already possess—certain items of equipment which are now regarded as part of the bare minimum required for his work. Less than 10 per cent of small farmers without such equipment are against its purchase. It includes such widely varying items as a farm building in perfect repair, an all-metal wheel plough, a reaper and binder, artificial fertilizers, an electric motor or a diesel engine.

Then comes the equipment that from 10 to 30 per cent of small farmers do not wish to purchase. Slightly over 10 per cent are not interested in selected seed and about the same number of farmers wish to buy it, whereas it is actually used by 70 per cent of farmers. The small farmer is contemptuous of artificial insemination; about one in three are against this scientific method of stock-improvement. The natural way is good enough for them: "I have a bull", "My neighbour has a bull", and so on. About as many small farmers see no need for new buildings. Barely 10 per cent wish to renovate dilapidated buildings. The others think it "useless", or "too expensive". About 85 per

Graph 8. BEFORE "ETAT D'URGENCE": ATTITUDES OF SMALL FARMERS TO MODERNIZATION OF INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT




Co-operative oven
Sales co-operative
Purchasing co-operative
Co-operative wine-press
Co-operative cellar
Co-operative thresher
Co-operative for hire of equipment
Co-operative silo
Group washing-machine
Land re-allocation commission
Young farmers' club
Organization of after-school recreation
After-school courses
% of persons having inadequate equipment
% of persons lacking equipment
% of persons wishing to improve or acquire equipment
% of persons wishing neither to improve nor acquire equipment

cent of the persons who replied to our questions have no modern machinery, such as milking and separating machines, and close on 30 per cent are definitely against them: "I sell the milk", "I buy the butter" or "That is bad for the cows".

Equipment intended for the rationalization of work seems to meet with the greatest volume of opposition. It is true that about 80 per cent of small farmers have a bank account, as against barely 15 per cent who do not want one. But a progress table and an account book are considered utterly useless on a small farm; "pointless, useless", "I keep the accounts in my head", and so on.

Opinion is much the same on the subject of tractors; about 80 per cent have none, and barely 20 per cent would like to buy one. Over 30 per cent expressed very definite objections; they do not want a tractor and have no use for them. An even smaller percentage of small farmers (0.3 per cent) express the desire to buy a tractor when asked how they would like to spend an extra 500,000 francs. On the other hand, 16 per cent say they would like to spend the 500,000 francs on a car. The home also has priority over the tractor (6 per cent as against 0.3 per cent). Our small farmers seem to show an aversion for the best machine for raising agricultural output. "There's no money for it", "I get along all right with what I have", "The holdings are too small", or "They're bad for the land".

If they clubbed together, perhaps, the small farmers could buy and make good use of a tractor. What, actually, is their attitude to co-operation? Co-operative silos, cellars and wine-presses may be left out of consideration, as these items of equipment are not of equal interest to farmers and wine-growers alike. But close on 40 per cent of all categories do not belong to any buyers' co-operative, and less than 15 per cent would like to enter any such co-operative association. Eighty per cent of our small farmers have never heard of a users' co-operative which would perhaps give them the use of such large costly machines as tractors, and not even 20 per cent would like to set one up. Hostility towards co-operation is especially marked when it comes to a domestic aid such as a collective washing-machine: this is unknown or rejected by 90 per cent, and desired by less than 20 per cent. The reasons most often given against co-operation are: "There aren't enough of us", "It wouldn't pay", "I don't believe in it", "That wouldn't work with us", "It's better for each to have his own tools"

and (in the particular case of the collective washing-machine) "It's unhygienic".

If rural workers are to be able to adjust themselves to the progress of techniques and ideas, they stand in increasing need of information and education. Nearly all of them have joined or wish to join school-extension associations. Tele-clubs come under this heading. On the other hand, roughly 85 per cent of viewers live in villages where there are no young farmer's groups, and only 40 per cent think that it would be useful to found one. About half of the localities still have no commission for the re-allocation of land, and only 18 per cent of the replies were in favour of the establishment of such an institution in the locality in question.

ATTITUDE OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC TOWARDS THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT

Road and bridge building is the first favourite (22 per cent of replies) for large communal undertakings. But main water supply is a close runner-up. We know that only 65 per cent of viewers have water laid on, in addition to which 20 per cent consider their communal supply inadequate; whilst nearly 50 per cent of persons without running water want it laid on, or at least desire some badly needed improvements. An equally high percentage of persons are in favour of public sewerage, yet about one-quarter of the villagers do not want either main drainage or main water supply. The most refractory are the small farmers, of whom only 30 per cent want water, as against 65 per cent in the case of workers (highly significant difference). Yet more surprising is the fact that women, who are the first to suffer from this lack of comfort, are more hostile than men to such schemes. Running water is desired by 52 per cent of the men as against only 36 per cent of the women. The difference in attitude over public sewerage is even more marked—61 per cent of men in favour, as against only 36 per cent of women (highly significant difference). The arguments, whether well founded or not, are invariably the same: "The commune is too scattered", "The village is too small", "There's no money for it", "We get along all right as we are", and so on.

Everyone knows how unhygienic some villages are, though many villagers are hardly aware of the fact.

Although 90 per cent of the inhabitants have a wash-house at their disposal, over 50 per cent consider it quite inadequate. Nearly 95 per cent have no bath or shower, or are dissatisfied with what they have. Yet barely 35 per cent want to improve the wash-house, while about 50 per cent are anxious to install a bath or shower. Here again, farmers express stronger opposition than workers, and women (37 per cent) show less enthusiasm than men (58 per cent) (highly significant differences).

What are the reasons for these objections? "The village is to scattered", "There isn't any water", or, more frequently, "That wouldn't work", "The brook isn't far off", "I've lived in dirt and I'm not going to change now", "Things are all right as they are" (49 times).

As everyone knows, it is often difficult to find entertainment in rural areas. Of the persons who replied to our questions, 70 to 75 per cent live in localities with no village hall or sports ground, or consider the existing facilities inadequate. About 40 per cent would like to "do something" about the village hall, and 25 per cent about the sports ground. Nearly 60 per cent of manual workers want to have a village hall built, as against 35 per cent in the case of non-manual workers and 30 per cent in that of the small farmers. The idea of constructing a sports ground met with equal support except from the small farmers, of whom only 10 per cent were in favour of the scheme. The women are of much the same opinion as the men as regards the sports ground, but the men are more staunch advocates of the village hall (45 per cent in favour, as against 30 per cent for the women) (highly significant difference). As was only to be expected, young people of under 25 years of age are the most enthusiastic supporters of the village hall and the sports ground—50 per cent in favour of the latter, as against about 15 per cent in the case of persons over 40 years of age!

With regard to work that would be carried out for the community as a whole, most viewers also advocated improvements to school, church and roads, in preference to the building of sports grounds and village halls.

We mentioned earlier, in connexion with our question regarding the purchase of a television set of their own by members of tele-clubs, that requirements were given different levels of priority and urgency. The same applies to our enquiry into the attitude towards modernization of the home. Some expenses met with practically no opposition.

We do not refer to the coke cooking-stove or to the radio set which practically all homes already possess (about 90 per cent), nor to the sewing-machine owned by approximately 70 per cent of viewers' families. But 55 per cent of those questioned have no water laid on in the sink, by means of a pump or a tap fed from a tank; this is demanded by nearly 50 per cent and particularly by the men.

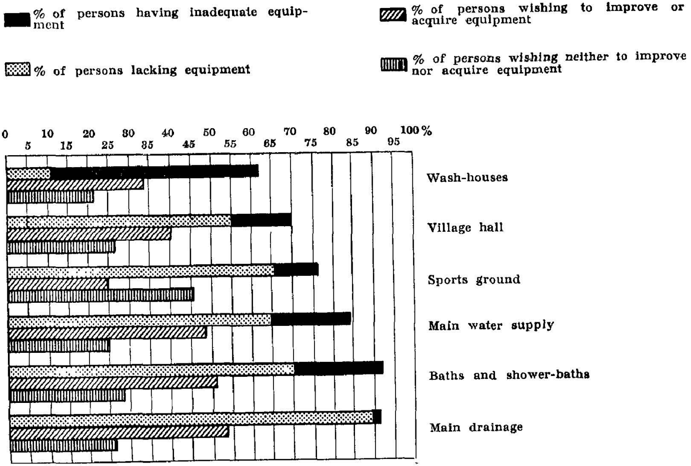
About 40 per cent are without butane gas, and only 20 per cent of the persons who answered our questions would like to use it. Eighty per cent of our sample have no household sewerage, and less than 50 per cent want to install it. As for washing-machines of their own, 85 per cent of viewers have none, and only 45 per cent want one. Central heating is practically non-existent, and over half of our sample consider it an unattainable ideal.

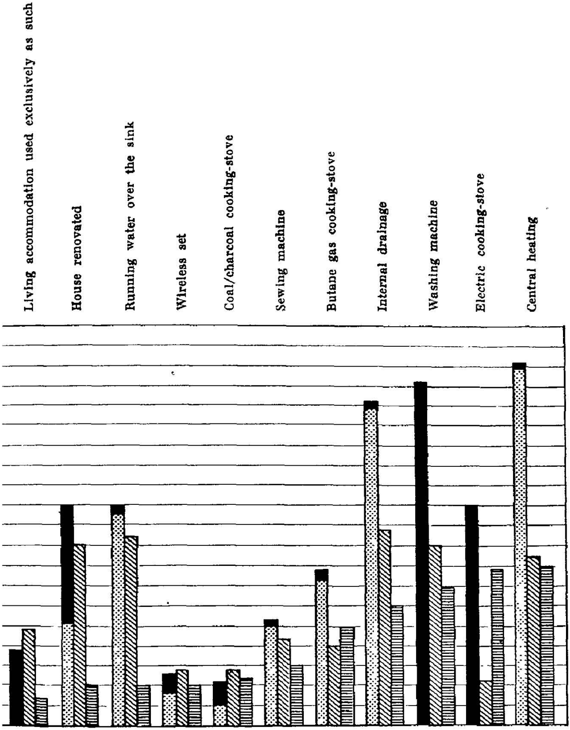
These attitudes vary according to the occupation of the person concerned. Ninety per cent of non-manual workers have no washing-machine and 52 per cent want one, as against 80 per cent and 33 per cent in the case of the small farmers. Generally speaking, workers are far keener on purchasing and modernizing equipment than are the small farmers. In three cases (full repairs for the home, running water over the sink, and household sewerage), over half the workers were in favour of buying up-to-date household equipment—a percentage never reached in the case of the small farmers. Furthermore, only 36 per cent of workers have a rooted objection to central heating, as against 50 per cent in the case of small farmers (significant difference). The washing-machine met with 47 per cent of support among workers and 33 per cent among farmers. Sixty per cent of workers would like to improve their homes even though they are only tenants, as against 4.5 per cent in the case of the small farmers.

By and large, women's lukewarmness for the modernization of household equipment, though less marked and consistent than in the case of public equipment, bears out the more conservative attitude of women as compared with men. A higher percentage of women than men are opposed to full repairs for the homestead, running water over the sink, and so on. The most striking instance of this difference is afforded by the fact that 53 per cent of the men want household sewerage, as against only 36 per cent of the women (significant difference).

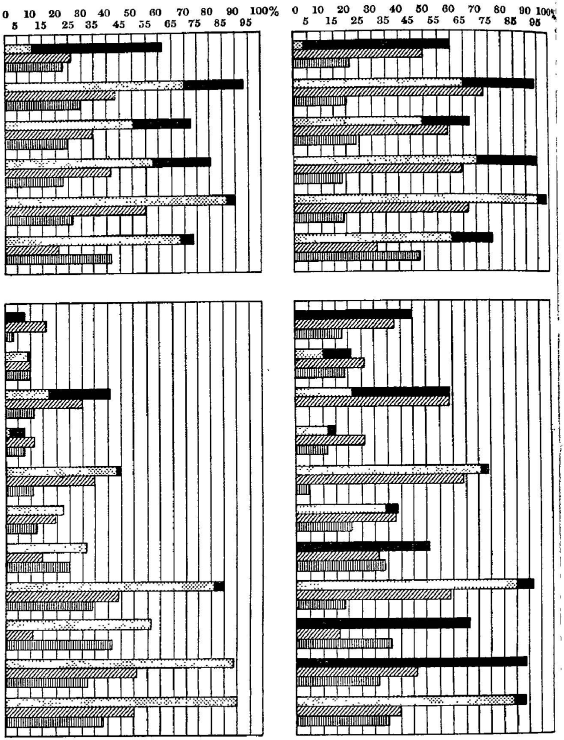
Differences were also registered as between the various

Graph 9. ATTITUDES OF POPULATION AS A WHOLE TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT




Living accommodation used exclusively as such
House renovated
Running water over the sink
Wireless set
Coal/charcoal cooking-stove
Sewing machine
Butane gas cooking-stove
Internal drainage
Washing machine
Electric cooking-stove
Central heating

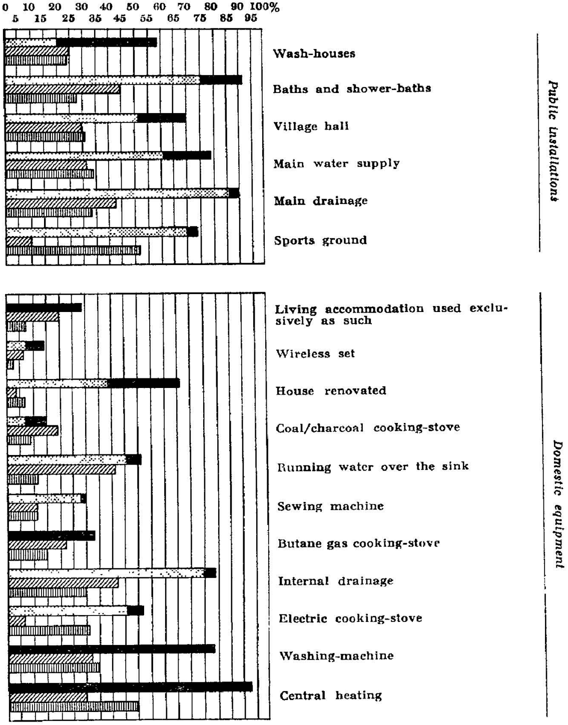
Graph 10. DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION



Non-manual | *Agricultural and non-agricultural workers*

% of persons having inadequate equipment

% of persons lacking equipment

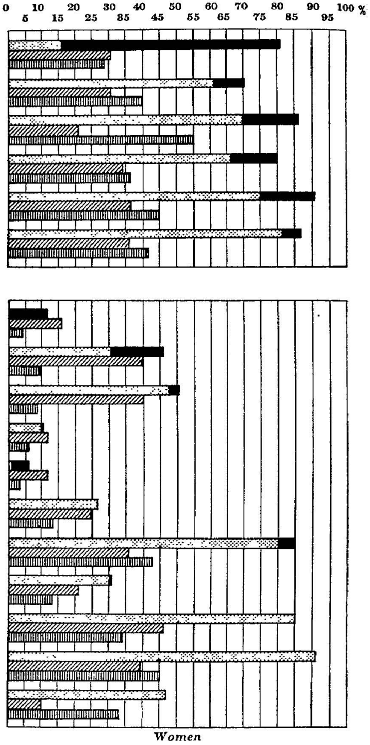


Small farmers

% of persons wishing to improve or acquire equipment

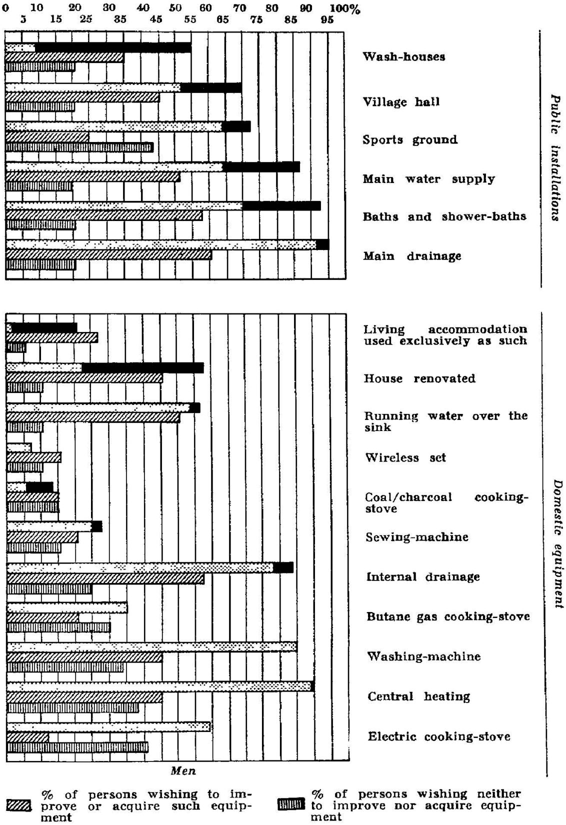
% of persons wishing neither to improve nor acquire equipment

Graph 11. DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO SEX

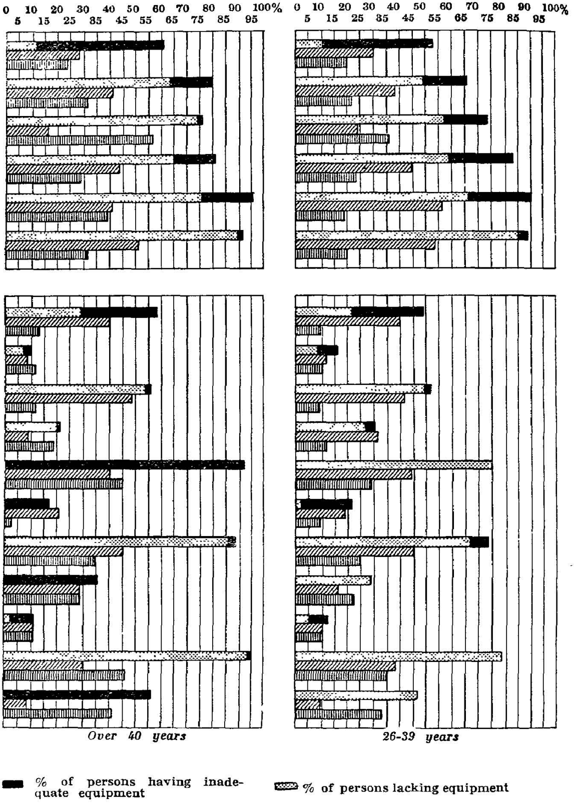


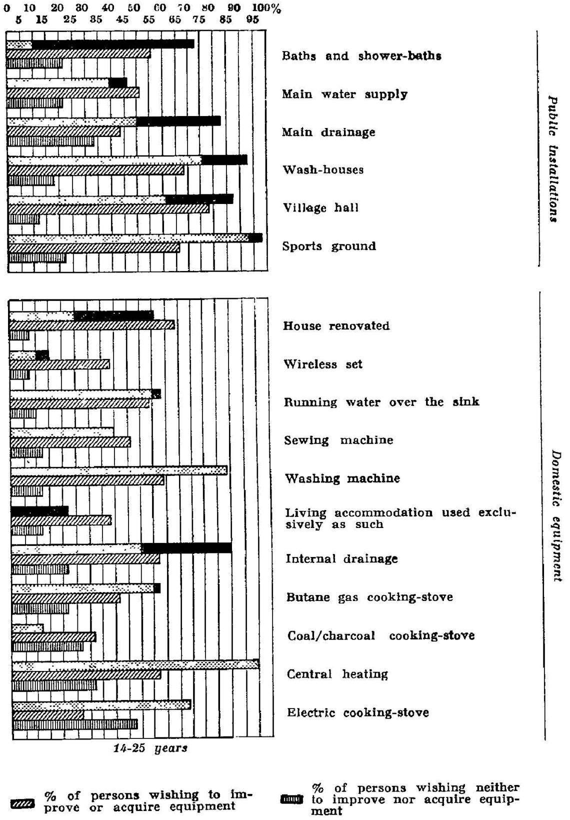
% of persons having inadequate equipment

% of persons lacking equipment


0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%
5 15 25 35 45 55 65 75 85 95
Wash-houses
Village hall
Sports ground
Main water supply
Baths and shower-baths
Main drainage
Public installations
Living accommodation used exclusively as such
House renovated
Running water over the sink
Wireless set
Coal/charcoal cooking-stove
Sewing-machine
Internal drainage
Butane gas cooking-stove
Washing-machine
Central heating
Electric cooking-stove
Domestic equipment
Men
% of persons wishing to improve or acquire such equipment
% of persons wishing neither to improve nor acquire equipment

Graph 12. DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS




0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%
5 15 25 35 45 55 65 75 85 95
Baths and shower-baths
Main water supply
Main drainage
Wash-houses
Village hall
Sports ground
Public installations
House renovated
Wireless set
Running water over the sink
Sewing machine
Washing machine
Living accommodation used exclusively as such
Internal drainage
Butane gas cooking-stove
Coal/charcoal cooking-stove
Central heating
Electric cooking-stove
Domestic equipment
14-25 years
% of persons wishing to improve or acquire equipment
% of persons wishing neither to improve nor acquire equipment

age groups. Only one instance will be quoted, so as not to labour the point. Close on 60 per cent of the young people want to buy a washing-machine, as against only 40 per cent in the case of men over 40 years of age.

The arguments most often put forward against up-to-date household equipment vary widely: "Butane gas? It might blow up." As for the electric cooker: "We have our wood for nothing", and "There are breakdowns". Sewerage: "What would I want that for?" or "I've got a cess-pit". Washing-machines: "They aren't perfect yet", "They're a luxury" or "They're hard on the linen". Central heating: "That's all right for the people in Paris", and so on.

This preliminary survey naturally prompts us to enquire into the reasons for this antagonism to progress, commoner among the small farmers than among other categories, among women than among men, and among men of over 40 than among the younger generation.

We made a comprehensive review of the reasons advanced in the replies to the initial referendum on the modernization of farm equipment. These reasons were then divided into two main categories: (1) genuine, material obstacles; economic, geographic obstacles; lack of resources, unsuitable land, etc.; (2) imaginary obstacles attributable to prejudice. This second category of reasons we then sub-divided into two sub-groups: on the one hand, attitudes due to indifference or conservatism with regard to technical progress ("We've been doing things like that for 20 years, so why should we change now?"); on the other asocial or anti-social attitudes ("I have my own wash-house; the others can look after themselves . . ."). This classification, which we worked out most carefully and cross-checked by oral interviews, is, of course, based on a rough estimate. The result is therefore also bound to be approximate, and the figures will be rounded off to the nearest ten. As regards individual and collective agricultural equipment, of the total number of reasons put forward by small farmers against progress, 140 were based on economic and geographical obstacles and 250 were attributable to sheer prejudice, either against progress in general or against co-operation. It should further be added that with a considerable number of objections, "shortage of funds" were in fact a mere pretext (10 out of 20 per cent).

There are more genuine obstacles to modernization in the case of public and household equipment. But, especially

with the latter, arguments based on lack of funds again seem to be a cloak for general unwillingness, to an extent that we cannot assess. Lastly, the number of objections dictated by indifference or hostility to progress or co-operation equals those which, according to the replies given, are due to economic or geographical obstacles (348 and 352 respectively).

These findings, which we suspected before the beginning of the survey, fully justify the choice of the subject-matter dealt with in the "Etat d'urgence" series. The question of modernization is a vital one for French agriculture and for the nation as a whole; in every field—mechanization or credit, the re-allocation of land and the situation of women in rural areas, the community spirit, vocational training and the organization of recreational activities for young people—ignorance and prejudice add their weight to genuine obstacles, to put a break on the forces of progress. How far did the series succeed in uprooting prejudice and in creating a constructive approach? This remains to be considered.

III. Variation of interest in the 13 telecasts

VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE

The chief aim of "Etat d'urgence" was to make an appeal to the small farmers. It was therefore specially interesting to find out whether this series attracted more small farmers than did other tele-club programmes; whether members of other agricultural and non-agricultural occupations purposely stayed away from this particular programme on the pretext that it was of less concern to them; whether women and young people were affected by its appeal; whether viewers of these different categories kept up their attendance at the "Etat d'urgence" series from early January to the end of March; whether attendance varied, and how its variation was to be interpreted. The assessment of results was to provide the first answers to these queries.

Most of these replies are recorded in the log-book for each programme.[1]

The remarks which leaders noted down in the part of the log-book set aside for critical summing-up provide some preliminary information:

Montfaucon: Last programme before Christmas 1953: 2 persons present. First telecast of "Etat d'urgence": 24 persons, including 22 farm labourers.

Viffort: The day after the first telecast, two farmers who had never visited the tele-club said to a friend: "One must go and see that".

Le Marais: After the second telecast, "a small farmer's family who had only been two or three times to the tele-club came to buy a permanent card". Again after the second telecast, the leader noted: "A new audience, different from that attending the variety programmes, is being formed".

Dammard: "Two farmers with land bordering on Dammard came for the first time during the "Etat d'urgence" series."

Nesles: Three out of the six farmers in the locality came to the first telecast. When the second one was given, the agricultural officer brought along, in his own car, 8 farmers and members of their families living some considerable distance from the centre. "The Thursday programme" wrote the teacher "is the favourite with the small farmers, while the others attract a larger number of farm labourers and factory workers, craftsmen and retired persons."

Etampes: "These telecasts brought me a new public."

Local notables who were not accustomed to frequenting the tele-club came to see the "Etat d'urgence" programme. In many localities, the mayor and municipal councillors joined the villagers in the discussions. The leader at Venteuil writes, on this subject: "I give, in this list, the names of the persons who were present at this viewing, as an indication of the interest shown in the programme: the

1. Log-books were kept by the tele-clubs in Montfaucon, Viffort, Fossoy, Venteuil, Châtillon, Dammard, Saint-Aubin, Nesles, Nogentel and Etampes. Comments are based on 230 log-books most of them (221) complete with extensive particulars regarding programmes. The nine remaining log-books had to be completed by means of extrapolated data based on the general trend of graphs and on comparisons with programmes preceding or following the programme not fully reported. The reasons for omissions were purely accidental (breakdown of current, illness of leader, loss of the log-book).

mayor, the deputy mayor, the municipal councillors, the president of the trade union, and the heads of co-operatives and of the Agricultural Loan Bank". Thus the tele-club became for several evenings, a centre for discussions between municipal councillors and groups of villagers. This survey is, however, only a starting-point; we now have to examine the precise variations in the detailed attendance figures for each of the 13 telecasts, according to profession, sex, and age group.

The attendance graphs for the various telecasts show, first of all, the wide variations in the figures. It is not easy to interpret these variations, since there are a large number of factors determining them, and these tend to overlap.

To begin with, "Etat d'urgence" is not the only item in the evening's programme, and we know that many viewers come for a whole programme rather than for one particular item. Another point is that attendance may be affected by weather conditions, local happenings and the requirements of everyday work, which have nothing to do with the telecast. People working in the field of popular education are familiar with the intricate effects of all these factors, which cannot be isolated with any degree of accuracy. In view of the time-limit set for completion of the survey, it was not even possible to make a systematic comparison between the figures for attendance at the tele-club before, during and after the telecasts in question, since we could not have allowed for seasonal variations and changing work conditions, although these affect the attendance figures. We were thus obliged to base our interpretation of the figures on the analysis of evidence and data collected.

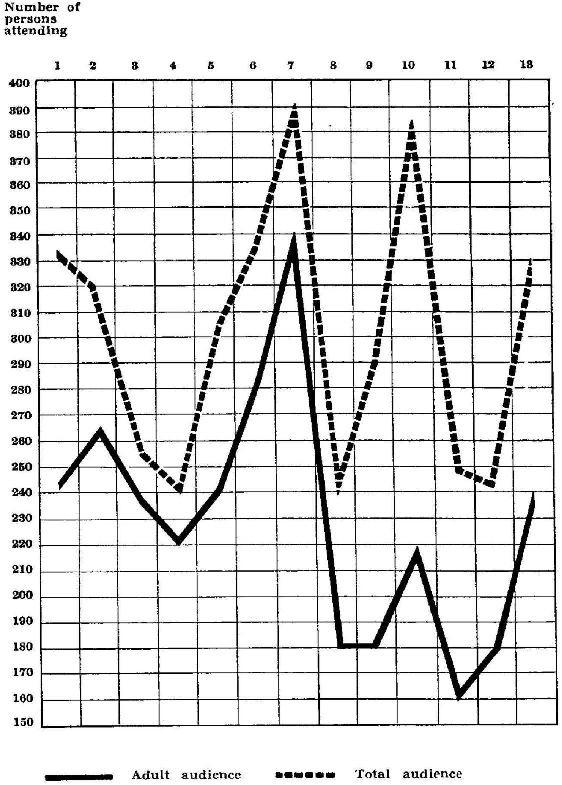
One primary fact is revealed: "Etat d'urgence" certainly reached the public for whom it was intended. According to the evidence of the leaders, given above, many small farmers who had never been to a tele-club were attracted by and interested in "Etat d'urgence". They said so themselves, and proved it by their regular attendance. Did they remain after the 13 telecasts? Often, yes. But the end of these telecasts coincided with the peak period in agricultural work, during which the working section of the population in any case visit the tele-clubs less often than in winter.

Small farmers formed the bulk of the audience at the "Etat d'urgence" telecasts. They represent 70 per cent of

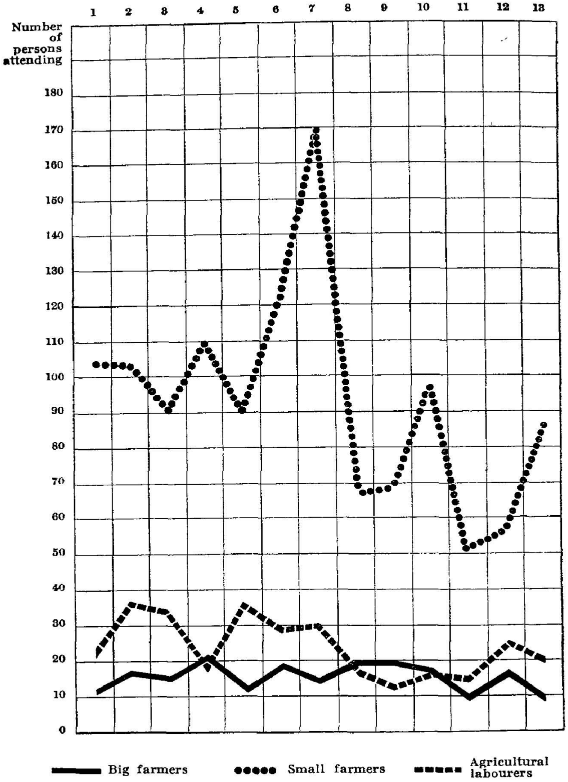
In the following five graphs (13-17), the figures 1 to 13 placed horizontally at the top represent the thirteen evenings covered by the investigation. The following list gives the title of the broadcast in the series "Etat d'Urgence" corresponding to each of those evenings, together with an indication of other main features telecast:

1. 7 January : " What I saw among you "; " Pleasures of the Theatre "; " Animal Life ".
2. 14 January : " Moucherelle farm "; " Pièces à conviction "; " Evening in Monte Carlo ".
3. 21 January : " Credit "; " Pochades électroniques "; " Joyaux de Paris ".
4. 28 January : " Partition and ownership "; " Eddie Warner "; Outside broadcast from the Saclay atomic research centre.
5. 4 February : " The Community Spirit "; Pleasures of the Theatre "; " Joyaux de Paris ".
6. 11 February : " Co-operation no. I "; " Pièces à conviction "; " Lost in the Jungle ".
7. 18 February : " Co-operation no. II "; "The Accident"; " Joyaux de Paris ".
8. 24 February : " Co-operation Abroad "; Zorro; " Journey without a passport ".
9. 3 March : " Over-production "; Zorro; " Journey without a passport "; Circus.
10. 10 March : " Women in the country "; " Animal Life "; Zorro; " Journey without a passport ".
11. 17 March : " The Country Homestead "; " Les Misérables "; " Chester Follies "; " Journey without a passport ".
12. 24 March : " The Story of Bernard "; " Les Misérables "; Outside broadcast from the Orly airport.
13. 31 March : " Summing Up "; " Les Misérables "; Circus.

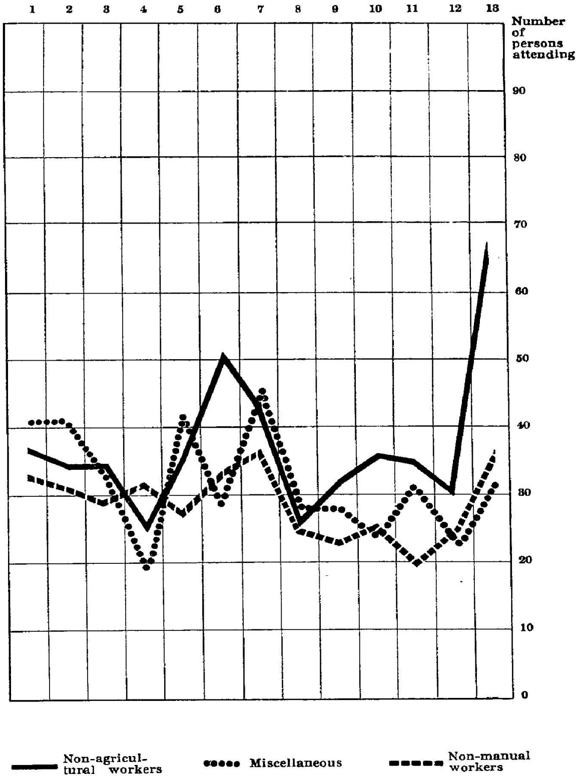
Graph 13. VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE 13 TELECASTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES



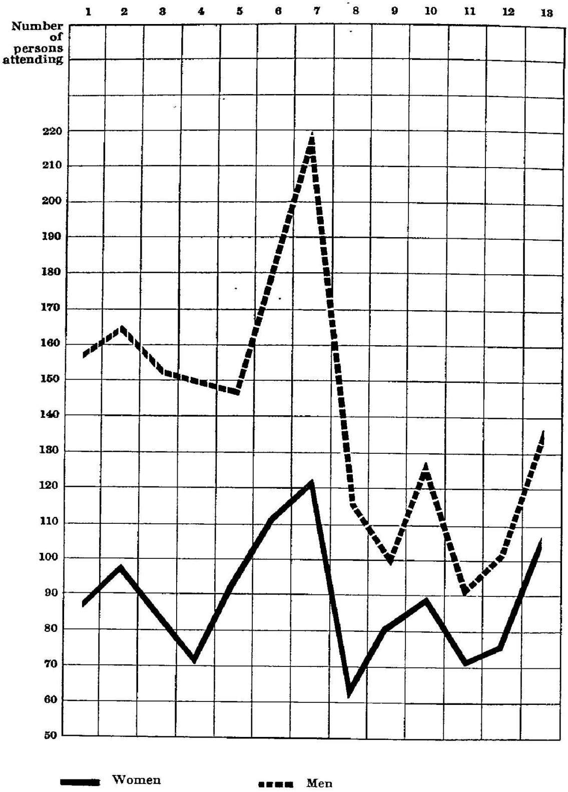
Graph 14. VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE 13 TELECASTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES, ACCORDING TO AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION



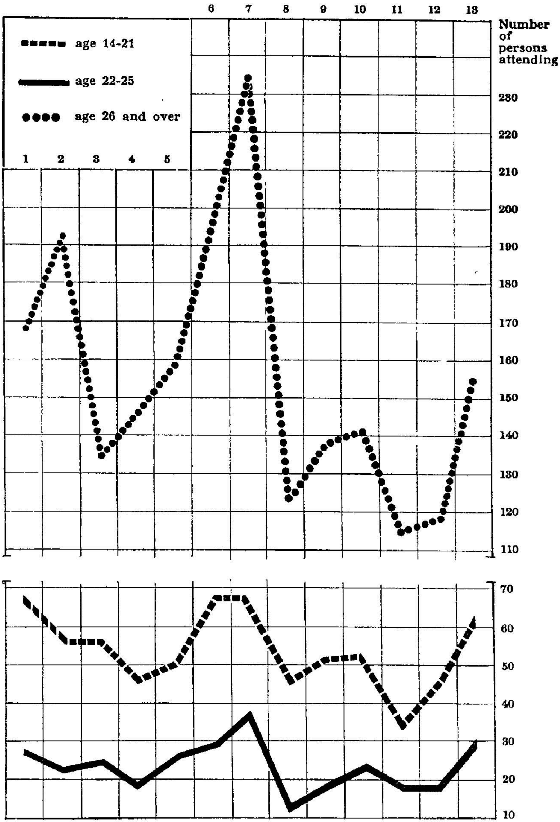
Graph 15. VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE 13 TELECASTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES, ACCORDING TO NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION



Graph 16. VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE 13 TELECASTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES, ACCORDING TO SEX



Graph 17. VARIATIONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE 13 TELECASTS OF THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES, ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUP



the agricultural audience as a whole; and indeed form the largest group—32 per cent—among the entire audience. This proportion is much higher than that of the small farmers who ordinarily frequent the tele-club, which in the past has been 25 per cent. These figures provide further evidence of the fact that "Etat d'urgence" has increased this category of the population's interest in tele-clubs.

As regards non-farming occupations there are more manual than non-manual workers (484 attendances as against 402); the next group, some considerable way behind, is that of the small clerks (115 attendances).

Taken together, agricultural and non-agricultural workers form a proletarian audience constituting 27 per cent of the general public. This is a higher percentage than that usually recorded in workers' educational establishments which do not cater exclusively for the proletarian element, even though they pride themselves on having a great success among the workers. This figure is particularly gratifying in view of the fact that the telecasts were designed first and foremost for farmers.

Fifty-seven non-agricultural workers attended the last telecast, as against 37 for the first. They do not appear to have found the series dull. A curious point is that the attendance figure for this category was highest for the thirteenth telecast, which summed up the conclusions of the series as a whole; the attendance of the other three socio-professional categories, on the other hand, was roughly the same at the last telecast of the series as at the first.

It will be noted that the attendance figure for non-manual workers remained almost the same throughout, in contrast to that of all the other agricultural and non-agricultural workers. However, this category was really too small, in our ten experimental tele-clubs, to be included in our analysis—which, we repeat, concentrated on the small-farmer category.

In any case, it may be stated that "Etat d'urgence" did not cause a drop in the attendance of representatives of categories other than small farmers. Apart from agricultural workers and large farmers, members of non-agricultural professions, as well as urban workers and employees also showed an interest in agricultural topics and attended "Etat d'urgence" with remarkable regularity. The women, although fewer than the men, also followed these pro-

grammes regularly. and, finally, young people were as regular in their attendance as men of over 40. On an average, women viewers provided 39 per cent, as against the men's 61 per cent, of the audiences. These percentages are roughly the same as those for the usual attendance at teleclubs.

The graph-curves for the first two age groups (14 to 21 and 22 to 25) are relatively stable. Does this indicate a steady interest in the programmes? No absolutely categorical answer can be given. There are the news and music-hall features, apart from "Etat d'urgence".... But we might quote in this connexion one note made by the leader at Viffort: "I personally do not regret" said a small farmer "having seen these films; but I doubt whether the young people feel the same, they were often noisy". To which the schoolmaster, noticing that a fair number of young people had attended regularly, retorted: "All the same, some of the young people only came on account of that series".

Generally speaking, the attendance curves for the three age groups followed a similar course, and variations do not appear to have been due to age differences.

How are we to explain the differences in the attendance figures for the various telecasts of the series? The seventh, dealing with the foundation of a champagne-producers' co-operative, the Mailly-Champagne Co-operative, was the best attended. After that, numbers fell sharply, and then rose again slightly for the telecast on women in the country (tenth) and for the final telecast (thirteenth). Does it follow that these three were more popular than the rest? It is possible, but the viewers do not know in advance how good each telecast is going to be. As we shall see, that which received the highest mark was the one on "credit" (third). But it was by no means the best attended. It cannot even be stated categorically that the success of one telecast invariably influenced that of the following one: for instance, the attendance at the fourth telecast was smaller than at the third, although the latter was so popular. On the contrary, the attendance figures appear to have been determined either by circumstances completely irrelevant to the telecasts (though decisive in the everyday life of the viewers), or by the interest of the subject of each particular telecast. We shall concentrate mainly on this second factor, bearing in mind the whole evening's programme in each case.

I. As between the first and the second telecasts, the number of children dropped sharply, whilst that of the adults rose.[1] This is attributable partly to certain parents' habit of taking their children with them to the tele-club—a habit discouraged, on this occasion, by the fact that the "Etat d'urgence" series was not "light" enough for children. The increase in the number of adult viewers appears to have been due to the favourable accounts of "Etat d'urgence" given by those who had attended the first evening's programme. These variations confirm the evidence of the educational experts, given above. The 14 January programme contained nothing else particularly calculated to attract an audience; moreover, people had not previously been in the habit of coming to the tele-club on Thursday evenings.

II. After the success of the second telecast, attendance figures were smaller at the third (credit) and the fourth (re-allocation of land). How is this to be explained? First of all, it is a matter of weather: this was the end of January and there was an exceptionally cold spell in the region during these two weeks, so that those afraid of the cold and unwilling to venture out on the frostbound roads refrained from visiting the tele-club. The composition of the programmes (report on the atomic laboratory at Saclay, and Eddie Warner's orchestra) failed to offset the effects of this weather factor, which tele-club leaders are unanimous in holding responsible for the drop in attendance.

III. The figures for the fifth telecast (the community spirit), the sixth (co-operation no. I) and the seventh (co-operation, no. II) show a steady rise. The reason, this time, is to be sought in the interest in the films shown in these programmes, films which were shot in various parts of the region—at the Nogentel tele-club (fifth telecast), the Château-Thierry Co-operative (sixth) and the Mailly-Champagne Co-operative (seventh). At Nogentel, the fifth telecast was viewed by 114 people (as against an audience of 26 people at the fourth), who came to see the film on the foundation of their own tele-club; thanks to this stimulus, attendance thereafter continued to be much larger than in the preceding weeks.

---

1. For the sake of simplicity, we shall speak of "adults". This in fact refers to persons not attending school, including young workers. See Appendix II, p. 248: Categories of population used in the field survey.

The peak figure on our two curves (and on the adults' curve in particular) is reached at the seventh telecast, dealing with wine-producing co-operatives, which attracted a large number of wine-growers from Venteuil and Châtillon. (At Venteuil, 32 persons viewed the sixth telecast, 80 persons the seventh, and 19 persons the eighth.) The same effects were observed at Châtillon and in other tele-clubs as well, owing to the fact that the particular co-operative in question is very well known for its championship of the small wine-producers against the large champagne-producing firms. With this telecast the curve, for male attendance, of the most dynamic and progressive age group (26 to 40 years) attained its peak.

These figures appear to confirm the fact that the most popular programmes are those most directly concerned with the everyday problems of a certain sector of the population, particularly when they touch on collective action by the "little men" against the threats of the "big men".

IV. After the eighth telecast, dealing with co-operatives (in India, Denmark and Canada), "Etat d'urgence" was transferred to Wednesday evenings—this led to an increase in the number of children in proportion to adults, an increase which continued up to the tenth telecast. But it is probable that this has nothing to do with "Etat d'urgence" itself. A glance at the programmes shows that, from the eighth to the tenth, they included "Zorro", an adventure film which children rave about. Note that there is no similar increase in the number of adult viewers at the eighth and ninth telecasts. On the other hand, the sharp rise in the number of children was doubtless partly accounted for by the latter spreading the news that "Zorro" was showing (several tele-clubs noticed how keen children were on the black-masked hero).

The fact that the number of adult viewers from the eighth telecast onwards fell below that at the fourth (at the time of the cold spell) probably indicates that some people are less interested in co-operatives abroad than in those at Château-Thierry or Mailly-Champagne. The opinions expressed by the televiewers confirmed this supposition. Moreover, spring work in the fields was beginning, owing to the early arrival of the fine weather. The small farmers were less regular in their attendance. Attendance figures are lowest for the eleventh telecast (the country homestead) on 17 March. It is obvious that the series "fell" badly in

relation to the seasonal fluctuations of farm work. At the tenth telecast, on 10 March, Châtillon notes "now that the fine weather is here, work in the vineyards goes on fairly late in the evening, with the result that there are not many people at the telecasts. The wine-growers have resumed work on dressing the vines, and can no longer afford to stay up late at night, as in winter; we usually stop our programmes at Easter". At Montfaucon, the same thing was observed at the eleventh telecast (17 March): "we have noticed a sharp drop in the attendance at tele-clubs, coinciding with the beginning of ploughing and sowing. There are hardly any small farmers, though they constitute the bulk of our village's population".

Nevertheless, there was a marked increase in attendance at the tenth telecast, on women in the country. Why? The graph of variations in men's and women's attendances shows that the number of women viewing this programme was not much larger than the number of men but that, on the other hand, there was a sharp increase in the number of small farmers (97, as against 52 at the following telecast). It is clear that this increase was not due to the other items of the evening's programme, "Journey without a Passport" or "The Life of Animals", both of which were shown on other occasions without attracting correspondingly larger audiences. It seems to have been the subject which was responsible for the greater number of men viewers, a fact which indicates once again that men are more interested than women in modernizing women's work in the country.

Finally, the fact that the attendance rose again at the thirteenth telecast seems to have been due mainly to interest in the conclusions and practical advice—an interest, which incidentally, was even keener among the workers than among the small farmers: all the log-books are categorical on this point. A certain proportion of people who were discouraged by the length of the series returned for the final telecast. According to the leaders, the viewers, knowing that the series was coming to an end, were anxious to see "how Roger Louis finished up". In this connexion, there is one point which we consider important, namely that the large number of telecasts and the time they lasted represented a serious drawback. When asked: "Are there any items which you used to like but which you like less today?" 14 people replied "Etat d'urgence" (as reported earlier), after the sixth, seventh and tenth telecasts. Although "Etat d'urgence" continued to interest a large number of

people, they were keener at the beginning than towards the end: in fact, a series of 13 telecasts at a stretch, on fairly serious subjects, is too long. Tele-club audiences would certainly be very interested in shorter series, consisting of three or four telecasts on the same theme; after one series, a certain interval should elapse before embarking on another series of the same length on a kindred subject.

DIFFERENCE OF VIEWERS' OPINIONS ON THE 13 TELECASTS

Data on the interest aroused by the subject of the various programmes, and the conditions in which they were shown, need to be supplemented by the comments of spectators on each particular telecast. These comments may be useful to producers wishing to use this kind of cultural programme in dealing with important social problems.

In the best tele-clubs, as we already know, viewers assign "marks" to the items of the evening's programme, by raising their hands. This method of comparing opinions often leads to useful comments, based on sincere impressions. We adopted this normal tele-club practice in our survey, in order to avoid getting purely formal and meaningless answers. By this means, we were sure of obtaining data which reflected the real opinions of the club, despite the inevitable interaction of influences. A certain number of leading spirits influence the group as a whole; but since, in most cases, they are not alone, their effect is usually evened out. Moreover, in any group, imitation is at least as important as originality; this is a psycho-social fact which applies in tele-clubs as everywhere else.

The only instructions we gave the leaders, emphasizing that they must be scrupulously observed, were the following: (a) after the "vote" has been taken, teachers are not to speak until last; (b) questions must be asked in the precise form laid down in the written instructions sent every week, before each meeting, to all leaders; they must be precise, and each one must be asked separately; (c) "free" questions (questions not given in our written instructions) should not be asked until all the questions set by us have been dealt with.

In order to obtain useful results, we decided to make this "referendum", held after every meeting, more precise by the introduction of a few standard questions designed to

draw viewers' attention to problems of organization: "What parts of this programme did you like most? least?" "Classify the impressions made by the various sections of the evening's programme. What would you put first?" (take a vote on certain sections, or on some particular aspect of the picture and commentary).

This was of course a somewhat over-simplified way of stating subtle problems of aesthetics, but the purpose of these questions was merely to provoke comparisons and disagreement and so arouse a desire to seek the causes of similarity or differences between the various impressions received. The leader would then start a discussion on the problems of organization, but without influencing the course of the debate.

The questions contained in the log-book, it is true, often proved too complicated, but they did provide an opportunity for recording authentic individual opinions of members of all social categories, and of small farmers in particular, which would otherwise certainly never have been expressed. The replies provided invaluable information on the reasons underlying the preference for individual subjects dealt with, and for individual production techniques employed.

What emerged from this survey?

It will be noted that generally speaking, although viewers warmly approved of the "Etat d'urgence" telecasts, most of them did not consider it necessary to award them the highest marks.[1] This confirms that the referendum was always carried out in a spirit of real sincerity.

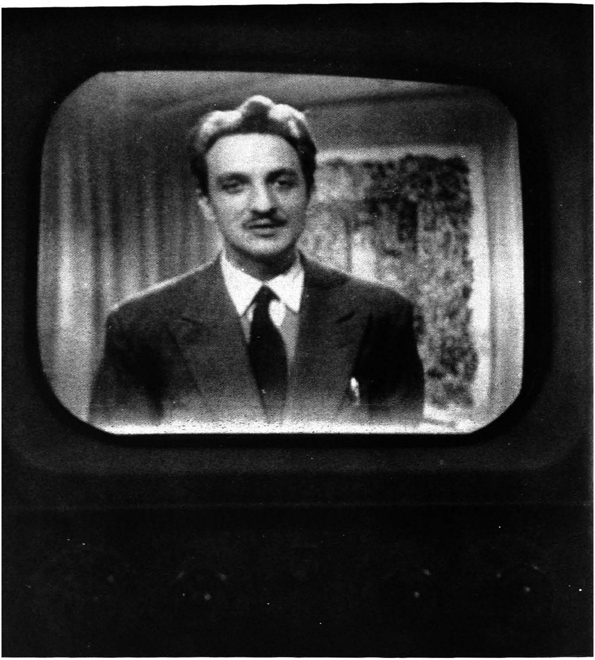
As we noticed at the time of the general survey of the programmes of Radiodiffusion-Télévision française, certain items were more popular than "Etat d'urgence": "series to be continued", reports the leader at Viffort, "provided it can be fitted into an amusing programme, such as the circus . . .". A large number of people always prefer variety shows: "it would be more interesting to see a music-hall programme", exclaims a worker at Nogentel. At Châtillon, some people preferred "Chester-Follies" to "Etat d'urgence". At Montfaucon, the circus showing on the same evening as the thirteenth telecast of "Etat d'urgence" (5 marks) obtained 6 marks. The same preference was

1. If one is to judge by audience mail, "Etat d'urgence" was as popular with urban viewers as with rural ones. Of the 46 letters received in the three months during which the series lasted, 37 were favourable, 4 voiced no opinion, and only 5 criticized the subject or its presentation. The large majority of these letters came from townspeople.

What interested tele-club audiences most was their own everyday life.
(The dairy co-operative at Château-Thierry.) *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*

A farm in the Aisne. *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*

True to life: a discussion between two farmers. *(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)*



"He can't have had a good sleep for quite some time."
(Photo: Unesco-Cassirer.)

Table 2. COLLECTIVE OPINIONS OF THE TELE-CLUBS ON THE 13 "ETAT D'URGENCE" TELECASTS

Telecast	*Number of tele-clubs which organized a referendum*	*Maximum marks awarded*	*Minimum marks awarded*	*Average mark for each telecast*
1st	5	6	4	4.8
2nd	8	5	3	4.1
3rd	12	6	4	4.9
4th	9	6	3.5	4.2
5th	7	5	3	4.2
6th	10	6	4	4.8
7th	6	5.5	4	4.8
8th	7	5	3.5	4.6
9th	8	5	3	4.4
10th	9	5	4	4.7
11th	5	4.5	4	4.1
12th	4	5	5	4.4
13th	5	5	4	4.7

Note: The significance of this method of marking is as follows: 6, exceptional approval; 5, warm approval; 4, approval; 3, uncertainty; 2, disapproval; 1, strong disapproval.

indicated at Saint-Aubin and Etampes. Only one tele-club (Châtillon) gave "Etat-d'urgence" and the circus programme the same marks; one club only preferred "Etat d'urgence" (Fossoy, 16 votes to 7).

On the other hand, when "Etat d'urgence" followed a moderately popular variety programme such as "Joyaux de Paris", there was a marked preference for the rural programme. Similarly, we found, that people preferred our series to travel films—"Journey without a Passport", for instance—whenever the two were shown in the same evening's programme.

The over-all marks awarded to the "Etat d'urgence" telecasts confirm these statements. Although no telecast received an average mark of 5 or more than 5, none was marked less than 4. They all, therefore, earned warm approval. The most popular were the first telecast, on motorization; the third, on agricultural credit; and the sixth and seventh, on co-operation. The least popular was the eleventh, on the country homestead. It is difficult however, to distinguish when examining their relative popularity, how far the success of any particular telecast was due to the subject and how far to its treatment. The comments reported bear on a very small number of "subjects", most of which were considered to be well-chosen, except perhaps in the case of co-operation abroad (eighth) and over-production (ninth), both of which, as

"general" subjects, were rated less interesting than subjects taken from local life. On the other hand, there were many comments on "methods of treatment"; we propose to assemble these comments around a few main themes, in order to illustrate the reactions of viewers to the various telecasts of the series.

I. The main problem of treatment in television is obviously that of the relationship between pictures and "spoken" material—the emphasis placed, in a composite telecast, on film and "live material" respectively. In this connexion the first point to note is that the problem of the relationship between pictures and spoken material in television depends on a more general consideration—the importance of achieving a lifelike atmosphere. The agricultural workers at Dammard objected, in the second telecast, to the farmer's speech: "The farmer had been told what to say". The same criticism was reported in most of the other log-books; no one thought the farmer lifelike. On the other hand, the commentaries by both Mr. Demarck, with his plain, downright speaking in the first telecast (arrival of the tractor in the village), and the small farmer in the third (discussion on "credit" with an industrialist), were most popular. "We want something real and striking, that's what we want" said a skilled worker at Aux Marais; "We don't want any humbug" (a wine-grower at Venteuil). This seems to be the main reason why the most popular telecast was the first, followed closely by the third.

Anything smacking of propaganda and "effects produced to order" arouses the suspicions of the general public. By "propaganda" we mean, not sincere campaigning for an idea openly expressed, but a deliberate attempt, often disguised, to "put over" a distortion of the truth. After the telecast on the re-allocation of land (fourth), some of the viewers became suspicious. "Roger Louis had an axe to grind", "he protested too much", such was the comment at Aux Marais. "It was impossible to judge whether he was right or wrong" said someone at Venteuil, referring to a farmer whose objections were summed up too briefly by the commentator. "The 'live' discussion would have been much more animated if the pros and cons could have been put" (Viffort). All the tele-clubs were shocked because, in the telecast on over-production (ninth), a small farmer from Brittany who had said very little was refused permission to speak again by the organizer, who was pressed for

time. At Venteuil, when this telecast was shown, there was an extraordinary incident: 23 people, all of them farmers, walked out of the hall as a sign of protest. A striking example, if ever there was one, of how people can be influenced by television.

II. In the case of eight telecasts out of thirteen, the comments reported show a preference for films, though this technique is welcomed only on condition that it conveys the impression of life and reality which viewers prize above all. On the subject of a film about co-operatives in India, a worker in Nogentel exclaimed, rather surprisingly: "It went too fast, you'd almost think it was the cinema", a comment which revealed a keener instinctive appreciation of the special style and rhythm of television than many professionals possess. Films on every-day local life, shot specially for "Etat d'urgence" at the Nogentel tele-club, the village of Chapelle-sur-Chézy and the Co-operative Cellars at Mailly-Champagne, met with universal approval—and the fact that the two latter films formed a large part of the sixth and seventh telecasts largely accounts for their receiving one of the highest marks (4.8). "That's right", "That's true to life", "So-and-so plays his part very well". Used in this way, the telefilm gives a new slant and a new interest to everyday life. Familiar though it is—and perhaps precisely because it is familiar—everyday life is an unknown quantity, which television sets out to portray.

Thus telefilms, when they succeed in conveying the impression of real life, are preferred to "live" transmissions. It is not the method as such which is popular; other subjects might be better treated "live". Aesthetic problems do not interest the general public except in connexion with the object of the telecast, and the impression of authenticity it conveys.

III. As regards the other five telecasts, the majority of viewers preferred "live" discussions to films: this refers to no. 2 (the model farm), no. 3 ("credit"), and also no. 6 (co-operation no. I) despite the film on the dairy co-operative at Château-Thierry, which was very popular. The ninth and thirteenth telecasts constitute a special case, since they were composed almost entirely of "live" items.

It is true that a powerful minority protested from time to time that there were too many "spoken" sequences. Two tele-clubs in particular criticized the eleventh telecast (the

country homestead) as being too dry; this item was in fact composed almost exclusively of discussions and technical plans: "It's boring, with discussions all the time" (Nogentel), and "Let's have fewer discussions please, a little more life and fewer plans which look so hard-and-fast" (Viffort). These comments coincide with the suggestions regarding the Télévision française programmes as a whole, which were analysed above.[1]

But when "live" programmes are clear and vivid, as in the discussion between the small farmer and the industrialist in the telecast on "credit" they meet with unanimous approval. We would emphasize this fact, which at first sight seems surprising. This telecast—the third—contained practically no film; it nevertheless received the highest average mark of the series (4.9 out of 6), and aroused comments such as the following: "Most discussions are boring, but this one was exceptionally gripping" (a farmer, Viffort). "It should be noted that this instalment was comparatively popular, although it consisted almost wholly of discussions, without much picturesque material" (Aux Marais). "Despite the dryness of the subject, Roger Louis succeeded in interesting the bulk of the viewers" (Nogentel). This seems to indicate that the spoken word can be just as interesting as film, on condition: (a) that the subject is a "red-hot" one (the subject in the present case was money); (b) that the other side of the argument is presented, or a variety of ideas put forward, by live people (a debate rather than a monologue); (c) that the telecast gives an impression of being authentic (first-hand accounts); (d) that it is clear (with an avoidance of over-general or over-specialized terminology—all tele-clubs criticized the use of words such as "criterion", "planning", etc.); (e) that warmth and passion in controversy, which liven up the discussions, are not deliberately eliminated (at the Fossoy tele-club the observer, whose comments were checked on the spot by our central team, wrote that telecast no. 3, on "credit", was followed as keenly as a boxing match). Ideas which appear to be stale suddenly take on a real meaning when "put across" by persons of striking personality. It is easy to express sentiments; but the difficulty which the producers of "Etat d'urgence" had to face and which, judging by the tele-clubs' reactions,

1. See Part II, p. 73.

they largely succeeded in overcoming, was how to express ideas through sentiments.

IV. The method of presentation is obviously a very important factor in composite telecasts such as "Etat d'urgence". The physical appearance of the commentator, who in this instance was also the leader of all the discussions, can from the outset establish a sympathetic atmosphere, or the reverse. In our case, Roger Louis, a teacher who had transferred to television, had already proved his worth in the "Life in the Country" series the year before. He made a good impression, and was known personally to many of the tele-clubs; in addition to which his experience of popular education enabled him, as a rule, to strike the right note. He generally addresses viewers as if he were passing an evening amongst them, and gives the impression that he knows how to put himself "in their shoes". The shortcomings of his vocabulary, which tends to be rather too limited or else too general and abstract, are offset by his direct approach, which never verges on the vulgar. He has considerable "presence"; yet, as the Etampes log-book comments, "he didn't put himself too much in the limelight". In this respect he was contrasted with a certain varieties producer, very well known but regarded as too "exhibitionist". The fact that he sometimes found difficulty in controlling stormy discussions did not shock the majority of viewers. Many of them tended to regard him as their champion: "he held his own very well", or again "he often got out of awkward situations". People like him very much. One evening, when he was bidding farewell to the viewers, a workman in the hall cried "Good-bye, old chap, see you again soon"; and at Nogentel, after the thirteenth telecast, the comment was heard: "He looked very tired, poor old chap, he can't have had a good sleep for quite some time". Incidents such as that which occurred at Venteuil, where the wine-growers walked out of the hall because he refused to allow the small farmer to speak, do not affect his general popularity.

Such are the main comments on the part played by films, discussions and methods of presentation in the "Etat d'urgence" series, as reported in the log-books. They show how important it is to adapt the tone and atmosphere of the telecast to the reactions of that section of the popu-

lation for which it is particularly designed, and how useful the approach and direct methods of popular education can be in introducing the problems with which television deals.

We have noted that the series should have finished before the arrival of spring; that 13 telecasts at a stretch are too many; that some of the subjects were too "general", although interest as a whole was very keen, particularly among the small farmers and workers; and that serious subjects suitably treated by television can appeal to a "popular" public while "spoken" items can, in certain circumstances, be even more successful than films. But we have not yet examined what purpose the series served; what did it give the viewers, in what way did it change them—in brief, what was its educational effect?

IV. Effects of "Etat d'urgence"

PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSIONS

The first sign of the effect of any educational activity is the verbal reaction it immediately calls forth. This reaction may take the form of participation in a discussion.[1] Such discussion is customary in popular education. Its educational effect may be considerable; it breaks the ice and serves as an introduction to social life. It may free the participants from inhibitions or feelings of inferiority, or encourage shy members to take on some responsibility from which they may hitherto have shrunk for lack of ability to express themselves. As we saw in our study of the operation of tele-clubs, it may train people to think. It is of particular importance to those whose schooling has been curtailed and who have been obliged to take up manual work as soon as they have left primary school. Did the "Etat d'urgence" programmes encourage the small farmers and workmen to take part in discussions?

At the beginning, many teachers thought it unlikely that

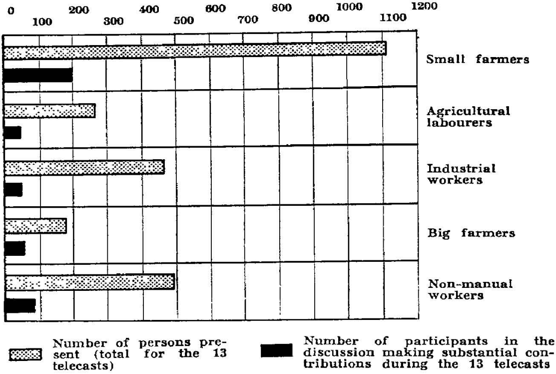
1. It was difficult to keep records of participation in debates, and the quality of the records varies from one tele-club to another. Not all the log-books yielded suitable material for our analysis. Rather than make use of quantitative data of doubtful accuracy, we confined ourselves to the most complete records—those of Venteuil, Montfaucon, Dammard, Nesles and Nogentel.

our series would have that effect. "Countryfolk will never dare to say what they think in front of people from their own village.... They are inarticulate...." But in all the tele-clubs in our districts, even in those where it had hitherto been impossible to start any discussion whatever, the main themes of the 13 telecasts were debated. The animation was naturally not as great at Fossoy, for instance, as at Montfaucon or Nogentel. But in some clubs the discussions went on till two in the morning. At Venteuil, some wine-growers declared one evening: "We have arguments here such as we've never had in the cellars—we never talk seriously there". In many clubs, which had held no debates before "Etat d'urgence" came along, viewers found in them an opportunity of thinking out their daily problems together. At Coudray, a village in the Oise, the leader wrote: "No one is more surprised than I to find that the viewers discuss with such energy". The leader at Nesles summed up the prevailing opinion when he wrote that television had introduced its audiences first to the cinema, then to the theatre, and finally, with "Etat d'urgence", to debating.

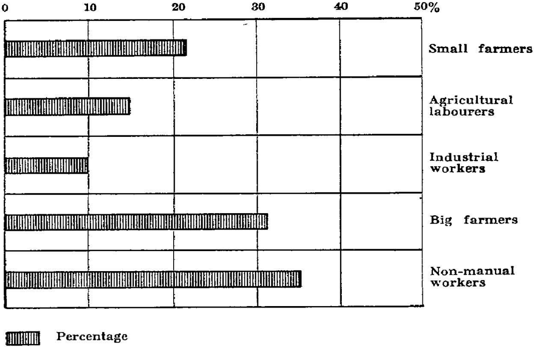
But who took part in the debates? Did differences of social status and education reduce them to mere monologues delivered by the village "notables" and educated persons—the big farmers, the teachers, the white-collar workers and local officials? It does seem that in certain tele-clubs the presence of big farmers embarrassed the small farmers. We find in the log-books, "The absence of the bigs farmers loosened the tongues of the small ones" or "It's better without people who are too influential—the mayor made great difficulties for me by repeatedly butting in to lead the discussion". In another tele-club, when the film on the Mailly-Champagne co-operative was shown (seventh telecast), a big farmer transformed the debate into a long monologue held before the farm labourers, who left one by one. At Dammard, on the contrary, the farm labourers stuck to the club and their "bosses" came less often. In these clubs, discussions of "Etat d'urgence" sometimes failed to establish any real exchange of ideas between groups with conflicting interests and habits.

It might, therefore, have been feared that even where men and women of different social standing continued to sit side by side in front of the screen, those with less authority or education would be too timid to open their mouths. Generally speaking, this was not the case. True,

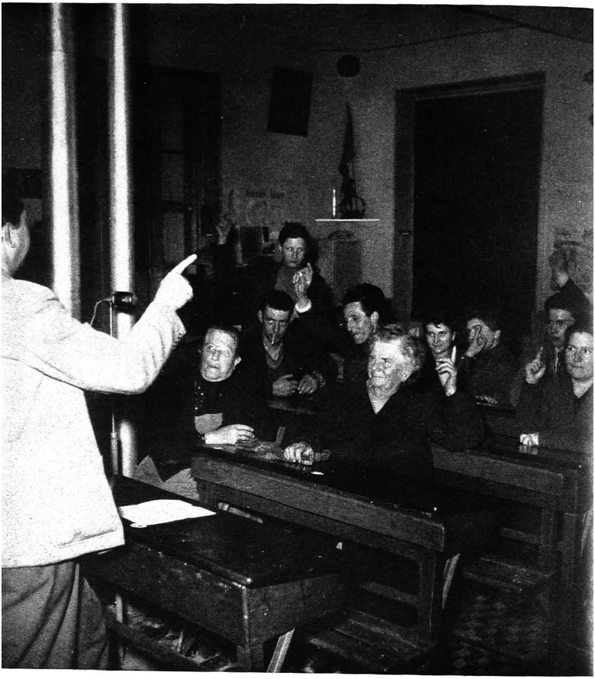
Graph 18. TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS VIEWING TELECASTS AND TAKING PART IN THE DISCUSSION: BY OCCUPATION



Graph 19. RATIO BETWEEN NUMBER OF PERSONS PRESENT AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSION, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION



For or against? *(Photo: Viollet.)*



After the telecast, they all vote by raising their hands.

(Photo: Unesco-Le Fauconnier.)

as many as 31 per cent of the large farmers spoke in the debates, they having the greatest command of words. But 15 per cent of the farm labourers who attended made some substantial contribution. This is an appreciable result, having regard to the social situation in some of the villages. As for the small farmers, who made up almost half the audience, they were responsible for the most numerous contributions, which came from 23 per cent of their representatives attending the 13 telecasts. Not only in actual number, but also in percentage, their speeches reached a much higher figure than those of the factory workers. So the first result of "Etat d'urgence" was to prove that, where certain problems of daily work and recreation are concerned, exchanges can be set up between different or hostile classes and social circles, enabling the manual workers to express themselves, despites the handicap of their position and lack of education. Let us now describe the views put forwards as a result of our programmes.

THEMES OF DISCUSSION

Words spoken or heard in a small group of people often carry more conviction than those spoken in a crowd or even between two people. This psycho-social fact may perhaps be explained by pressure of public opinion, the impulse to imitate, fear of making oneself conspicuous, or an atmosphere which encourages the expression of wishes and decisions. Hence the importance of well-managed debates in a tele-club. What remarks were called forth by "Etat d'urgence"?

Before analysing what was said, we should discover whether these remarks resulted from what had been heard during the actual telecasts, or whether they were prompted by the questions put by the leader at the conclusion of each. In the latter case the discussions would have been in the nature of mechanical repetitions or docile recitals, of little use in estimating the effect produced on audiences by the "Etat d'urgence" series. It might also be wondered whether the discussions would not take up again what had been said before the transmission, to account for the indifference or hostility to modernization. Here again, what effect was to be anticipated from the showing of "Etat d'urgence"?

In order to answer these two questions, we made a complete list of the views expressed during debate, which were noted down direct in the log-books.

Since the present book is intended for an international public, we could not make an analysis of vocal comments and their meaning, so we confined ourselves to a study of the themes which we arranged roughly in two categories—approval and protest. It was not possible to make any serious study of frequency. We therefore restricted ourselves to a qualitative study of the general replies which seemed to typify the views of the club as a whole, or of individual replies which were characteristic of a particular social category. Original remarks are seldom heard at the tele-club; the members usually speak in order to express what their friends or "mates" are thinking in silence. In most cases we have avoided naming the village where the remarks were heard, in order to preserve the speakers' anonymity; but whenever possible we have mentioned a speaker's social position and occupation.

It will be seen that the subjects overlap from one meeting to another. Discussion usually dealt with what had been shown during the evening's telecast, but was not necessarily confined to it. We noticed that related subjects were often dealt with for about three meetings, and that the theme then changed. In our classification, however, we have taken the 13 telecasts in their correct order.

Here is the substance of the principal speeches, as gathered from the most characteristic phrases noted in the log-books.

Motorization

The tractor is regarded with distrust: "Work in the vineyards is too delicate a job for it" objects a wine-grower. The whims of weather and soil make it inadvisable to buy one: "You can only use a tractor in certain years" (a farmer). At Montfaucon the farmers said the soil was too heavy and the ground too broken. The general opinion at Nesles-la-Montagne was that "the farms are too small". At another place a small farmer remarked sceptically: "We'd still need horses, to haul the tractor when it breaks down" or "One tractor isn't enough, there have to be at least two, one heavy and one light". And what will become of the farm labourers? "If tractors are brought in there'll

be the eight-hour day... what will become of the farm labourers then?" asked several farm-hands.

Other farm labourers said, however: "We'd like our bosses to be well equipped, as long as it doesn't do us out of our work" or "It'll make the work less hard". And one big farmer declared: "If it weren't for the tractor we should all be selling our farms".

Credit

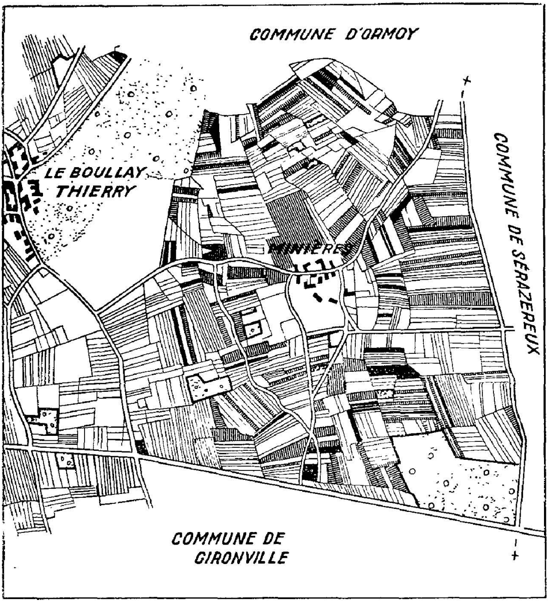
"Demarck has money" said the small farmers. "He's a multi-millionaire." "We can't afford to buy a tractor" was the general opinion at Nesles. "A horse lives off the farm, but petrol has to be bought" said Montreuil-aux-Lions. Besides, "If it takes five years to work off the cost of a tractor on a 230-hectare farm, how long would it take on a 30-hectare farm?" wondered one small farmer.

To go and ask for a loan is difficult. "My father told me that in his day people used to go to the bank after nightfall, because they were ashamed of it" said a big farmer. And there is no certainty that the loan will be granted. The young farmers in all the villages complained that "A young man who's just beginning finds difficulty in getting a loan"; "There isn't enough credit for young men". This is perhaps because the agricultural credit system is short of funds, owing to the fact that it gets little help from the farmers themselves. "Farmers aren't lunatics—if they have any money they'll invest it at 8 per cent in industry rather than at 6 per cent in agriculture" admitted one small farmer.

On the question "Is it better to buy more land or improve what one already has?" opinion was very much divided. "It's better to buy and increase one's holding"; "Land is an investment", was the general opinion at Aux Marais. On the other hand, "For young farmers" said one small farmer "it's better to improve the equipment".

Another question on which there was much disagreement was: "Is it better to use the old methods, or to ask for credit facilities?" A lot of people refrained from answering this. Nevertheless, there were seven speeches in favour of the old methods: but fourteen were definitely in favour of credit facilities.

RE-ALLOCATION OF LAND AT BOULLAY-THIERRY AND BOULLAY-MIVOYB

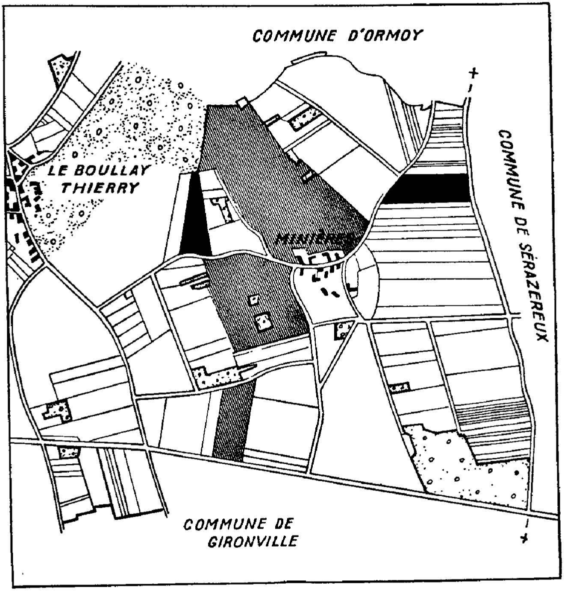


	Total area	Reduction
(solid black)	32 acres	96 %
(hatched)	183 acres	98 %

0 50 100 500 1000

Scale (metre)

RE-ALLOCATION OF LAND AT BOULLAY-THIERRY AND BOULLAY-MIVOYE



Results obtained:

Average size of a plot of land — Before: 1 acre — After: 7 acres

Re-allocation of Land

One small farmer exclaimed indignantly "We'd be expected to give good land in exchange for rubbish". But a big farmer spoke on lines which may be summed up as follows: "It's the only possible solution". At Châtillon a vote was taken, and showed 60 per cent opposed to re-allocation. At Venteuil, on the other hand, 60 per cent voted in favour of re-allocation. In the other tele-clubs, 16 lengthy speeches criticized this voluntary revision of ownership, against 14 which approved it. At Viffort, according to the club leader, "Everyone seems to agree that re-allocation is necessary, but they hesitate when they see the results in the neighbouring villages".

Co-operatives

This was the subject which produced the most sustained and heated argument. There were many negative replies to the question: "Do you think a co-operative could be set up in your village?" "People wouldn't like it" said a small farmer "Household co-operatives are impossible"; "We don't want any co-operative for agricultural machinery". At St. Aubin, for instance, five long speeches were made by farmers on this subject alone.

A small farmer expressed mistrust of his potential associates: "A co-operative? It might be all right for buying a tractor together, but some people always try to take the lion's share". Another said: "If one man handles it badly, everybody has to pay for the repairs"; and another: "They'd say, it wasn't me that broke it". A wine-grower thought a co-operative would never work: "Everybody would need the vine-sprayer on the same day". The apprehension expressed by one farmer sums up the general feeling: "There might be rows".

Others, however, energetically defended the co-operative: "We need to be less individualistic and have more confidence" was the theme of three important speeches by big or small farmers, in three tele-clubs. Six speeches of the same origin maintained that a co-operative was possible: "Yes, for buying fertilizers" or "Yes, for buying agricultural machinery".

Another question had been raised: "What criticisms do the members of co-operatives bring against them? Are they justified?" A big farmer proved that "It's more

expensive than buying elsewhere". A small wine-grower complained that "Instead of paying out the dividends they put them into the purchasers' co-operative". Another protested that "They take no notice of our objections". "At the general meeting we feel awkward and daren't open our mouths" confessed one small farmer, while another pointed to a permanent unfairness: "The big fellows have time to think about it, we little chaps can never let up for a moment".

"The consumers' co-operative is hard on the small tradesman" said one baker "but generally speaking the co-operative system is needed"; "We have to remember that co-operation means not only organization, but a certain spirit as well" said a clerk. Several small wine-growers made declarations of faith: "We need to be less individualistic and have some confidence"; and at the end of one meeting, an agricultural officer said rather pompously that "the co-operative member is not working for himself but for his children, and for mankind in general".

The question "Is it desirable to expand the co-operative system?" revealed widespread mistrust of the big co-operatives. "They're too centralized and impersonal" or "It's better to have small co-operatives, closely interconnected" (a small farmer at Montreuil-aux-Lions). At Nogentel, ballotting on the subject produced 4 votes in favour of large co-operatives and 26 in favour of small ones.

A final observation is that there were considerable differences in the general or majority opinion expressed in the

Table 3.

Club	*5th telecast*	*6th telecast*	*7th telecast*	*8th telecast*
Montfaucon	against	?	in favour	x
Viffort	x	in favour	in favour	x
Venteuil	in favour	against	in favour	x
Châtillon	x	in favour	x	x
Dammard	x	in favour	x	x
Saint-Aubin	x	x	x	x
Coudray	x	in favour	in favour	x
Aux Marais	against	x	x	x
Fossoy	against	against	against	against
Montreuil	x	x	x	in favour
Nesles	x	x	x	against
Nogentel	x	x	in favour	in favour
Etampes	x	x	x	in favour (with reservations)

x: No definite reply.

tele-clubs on the occasion of the four telecasts dealing with co-operation. We tried to note the over-all conclusions reached in connexion with telecasts 5, 6, 7 and 8. We give these without comment (Table 3) as a sign of heated argument.

The Over-production of Farm Goods

The questions we asked the leaders to put on this subject were of a very general nature. Many of them had no replies at all. "Interesting discussions" took place in a few tele-clubs, at Etampes for instance; but there seem to have been no firm grounds for most of the conclusions reached, whether positive or negative. We give these replies, which were noted in most of the log-books by yes or no, without comment.

Table 4.

Question	*Yes*	*No*
"Do you think the domestic market in France can be expanded during the next few years?"	Dammard Nogentel Nesles (yes, perhaps)	Aux Marais Nesles
"Do you think that by improving the quality of certain goods and setting up an export organization, French agriculture could sell more to foreign countries?"	Dammard Aux Marais Nogentel [illegible]	Nesles
"Are you in favour of a European market for agricultural produce?"	Saint-Aubin Nogentel Aux Marais "Yes, but it's risky" (A small farmer)	Montfaucon Nesles "Better keep inside our own frontiers" (A small farmer)
"Should the United Nations arrange to buy up excess agricultural goods and make them available to underfed peoples, in India for instance?"	Coudray Etampes	Nogentel Nesles "The French in Africa should be fed first" (a wine-grower)
"Do you think the French Government should assist such an undertaking with taxpayers' money?"		Dammard "No taxpayers' money for such an undertaking" (general opinion)

Women in the Country

The first question—"Are you in favour of making things easier for country-women?"—raised objections of a financial nature on all sides, especially from the small farmers: "Modern machines are all very well, but they cost money"; "You have to be always paying out, there's no getting away from it". To the question: "Do you think outlay of that kind is as useful as buying an agricultural machine, for instance?" the president of the wine-growers' union at Châtillon replied that "Present conditions in the vineyards make it impossible to improve matters inside the home". "A machine gets on with the work, it helps us; there's not so much hurry about the inside of the house, we can carry on as we are" protested a small farmer at Nogentel. Besides, "women will have just as much work when the machines are there" (a small farmer at Viffort), or "before we have cooking apparatus we need to have water, electric light and power laid on all over the place".

"Do you think domestic science schools are useful?" "It seems likely" said a small farmer at Montfaucon "that girls who've learnt to make cakes in an electric oven will have a hard time with our wood-burning stoves." "That's not a school, it's a château!" exclaimed a wine-grower when the domestic science school at Verdilly was shown on the screen. Finally, a very sceptical old agricultural labourer raised a peal of approving laughter by declaring: "When girls leave the school and come home they want to change everything; the old people throw them out, in less than no time!"

But "The schools are useful if they don't make the girls too ambitious" admits a small farmer. They are useful "if attached to a farm and not to the sort of place that none of the pupils will find at home" (a teacher); "There's no doubt" said a farmer's wife "that the girls learn a lot of things I haven't time to teach my daughters". "There aren't five people who know how to give an injection, and the village stretches nearly two miles" explained a farmer at Montfaucon. "If classes were held here I should send my daughter" (a farmer at Coudray).

Housing

When the plans of a big farm rebuilt on modern principles were shown on the screen, nearly all the viewers were

dumbfounded.... To the question "What do you think of what you have just been shown?" there does not seem to have been a single favourable reply. Many speakers, on the other hand, expressed scepticism, often tinged with amusement: "Impossible here" said a small farmer at Viffort. "Let's begin by having water in our 17 hamlets, and that'll do" added another. Some workmen at Etampes found such unattainable luxury comic: "They must have been to the Ideal Home Exhibition before getting up this programme" they said; and a farm labourer exclaimed "Don't they ever put up curtains in the cowsheds?" "We should look fine with a grand farm and no modern equipment to work it with!" remarked one small farmer.

Others, struck by the exceptional circumstances of the reconstruction, added: "Did well out of the war, didn't they!" "It's a pity" observed a factory worker ironically "that everything round here wasn't smashed up by the war, it would all be much finer!" And a farmer concluded "That's all very well, but we really can't order another war!"

"Would you like to build, or to do up the present buildings?" "Later on, when I'm sure of staying here" said one farm labourer—"but labour seems to be less in demand, and suppose we leave?" In conclusion, several small winegrowers and farmers declared "We've plenty of ideas, it's the cash we're short of"; "The most important thing is lacking"; "Where do we find the millions of francs?", etc.

Drift of Young People to the Towns

"Are many people leaving your village?" All the tele-clubs replied in the affirmative—except Etampes and Nogentel, the most highly urbanized.

The question "Is there enough work in the village?" called forth a majority of no's—Montfaucon, Viffort, Veneuil, St-Aubin, Nogentel.

"Why are the young people leaving?" A small farmer at Montfaucon replied "when they see the town folk, who can rest from Saturday to Sunday evening, it tempts them". But most speakers stressed the low wages—"Wages are too low"; "A farm labourer earns 77 francs an hour and a bricklayer 120 francs", etc.

"Do you think we should try to stop this drift, or does it signify adaptation to present-day life?" "When I was young" said an old farmer "it took four families to get

in the harvest, now one lad can do it by himself." "Modernization means that some have to go" said a clerk at Nogentel. "The ground's too 'low' for them" grumbled a small farmer. "It's natural they should go"—such was the conclusion reached by the Viffort farmers in their discussion. "It won't go on for ever" declared a big farmer.

"How could the drift be stopped?" "Impossible"; "It can't", are the most frequent replies from the wine-growers and small or big farmers. Some fairly practical ideas were, however, put forward. "Revive the law of primogeniture" urged a small farmer. "Keep people on the spot by setting up factories for processing agricultural produce" suggested a country schoolmaster. "Organized recreation isn't enough; there ought to be vocational classes too" said a small farmer. "Why shouldn't people come to live in the country when they retire, to make room for young people in the towns?" asked someone at Nesles—a man with small private means.

Summing-up

Very straight questions had been suggested to the leaders at the end of the series: "Should countryfolk study?" "Would it be a good thing to start adult education classes?" "Will you send your sons to the school of agriculture?", etc.

The replies were everywhere favourable, but always a little stiff. One the whole, the questions were regarded as premature: "Give us time to think it over"; "We'll see next year"; "After the holidays". . . .

What conclusion is to be drawn from all these comments? They leave no doubt that sayings like "the countryfolk take no interest in anything"; "all they care about is making money", etc. are untrue. They are keenly interested in the basic problems of their daily life. Their ideas on the subject, though often limited, are clear and consistent, and are expressed in definite, albeit few words. Popular education, popular culture and popular art should start from this basis, in an effort to ensure a gradual improvement in the level and extent of knowledge and skills. Great cultural possibilities are neglected by most educators and producers, who ground their work on a "middle-class",

"aesthetic" culture, too often remote from the realities of village life.

It can also be said that "Etat d'urgence" succeeded in awakening an active response from the country audiences. The small farmers did not merely repeat, parrot-like, the arguments heard during the telecasts; they thought them over in relation to their own experience. Prejudices proved stubborn; but the people were brought up against real reasons for suspicion of or indifference to modernization. The views defended during the discussions were less blunt and better thought-out than the negative attitudes taken up, on the occasion of the initial investigation, against technical progress or social co-operation.[1] Insincerity? Perhaps. But the discussion initiated by "Etat d'urgence" provided a propitious atmosphere, a framework for the exchange of ideas which few of the participants would express so clearly if they were among themselves. An awareness of problems may be awakened, develop steadily or revive from time to time, and the education of the less advanced by the more advanced is facilitated. At Venteuil the wine-growers' representative was heard to make an open declaration of faith in the co-operative system. The discussion on "Etat d'urgence", which had no narrowly political bias, gave the opportunity for a public debate on social problems, which the majority of viewers do not discuss because they never attend party or trade union meetings, or the meetings of specialized groups. This discussion therefore constituted a lively social education circle.

Was it reasonable to hope that discussion on "Etat d'urgence" might produce not only ideas, but decisions? Our survey shows that the questions which best facilitated discussion were those which avoided two drawbacks. On the one hand they were not too specific—that makes the prudent countryfolk cautious and reduces them to silence. For instance: "Do you want to start a co-operative?" One leader mentions in this connexion that in his village the municipal council, when it has to take a decision, leaves an interval of three days between the meeting at which the decision is reached and that at which it is confirmed. "When the question is too precise, nobody answers" reported the Viffort leader. "I heard in one village that some

1. See p. 266, Appendix VII, Tables recapitulating the reasons for indifference or opposition to modernization.

of the farmers would like a co-operative threshing-machine; what do you think about it?" Silence. "Have you any scheme for reforming the local co-operative?" Silence.

But when the questions are too general they have an equally paralyzing effect on the discusion. The survey of the discussions which followed the ninth telecast (over-production) is very instructive in this connexion: many answers were confined to a yes or no, there were few original ideas expressed in direct terms, and many people remained silent. This shows that the discussion was not keen (except in a highly urbanized tele-club such as that at Etampes). Venteuil notes: "The questions were too general, they did not call forth replies". The yes and no answers recorded in the log-books that evening are of very doubtful value as indications.

The questions which obtained the most genuine and the most numerous replies were those which dealt with numbers and categories ("How many co-operatives are there in your village?" "How many young people go to work in the town?") and those which called for the critical consideration of recognized problems (such as "Should a tractor be bought, or not?").

It can hardly be asserted that replies are valueless because, in many cases, they merely report facts. Attitudes take time to evolve, and it is very difficult to secure rapid results which are not illusory. Nevertheless, we noted the development, over a month, of the general opinion on the most controversial problem, that of co-operation. It is not surprising that this should have called forth far more numerous and more vigorous replies than did motorization or even re-allocation! One need only recall the vigour of certain anti-co-operative attitudes among the small farmers, as revealed by the initial investigation. Not until the four telecasts dealing with the community spirit and with co-operation do we find in the log-books remarks such as "We're waiting for the contiuation"—as for a serial story. "The problem of co-operation interested everybody, all the social categories in the tele-club—farmers, workmen and craftsmen" (Boullay-Mivoie).

It can be definitely stated that during the four telecasts on co-operation the atmosphere in the tele-clubs underwent a transformation, and that on the whole this was for the better. The leaders testify to this, and inspection of the log-books confirms it. It is true that at Fossoy the atmo-

sphere remained hostile, and at Saint-Aubin uncertain; but at Montfaucon the predominantly negative attitude did not persist. Coudray, after undecided reactions, declared itself at the third telecast as "in favour". At Venteuil the atmosphere became such that, as we have already seen, the President of the Wine-growers' Syndicate declared himself openly in favour of the co-operative system. Nesles remained somewhat hostile. A favourable trend was observed at Montreuil and at Etampes. These of course are only trifling indications of the effect of "Etat d'urgence". Can we discover some of a more decisive character?

WISHES EXPRESSED BY VIEWERS

Television has been reproached for exerting only a superficial and temporary influence. "It may possibly suggest ideas, but it does no more. One programme is forgotten when the next comes along." We have already seen that, in the light of our investigation, this opinion seems exaggerated and prejudiced. Far from satisfying its public "Etat d'urgence" left it unsatisfied. Certain viewers wanted to see some of the telecasts again: the most in demand were the first, on motorization, and the third, on credit—a fact which confirms the statistical estimates. But above all it would seem that "Etat d'urgence" succeeded in awakening or re-awakening a desire to go thoroughly into the problems which the telecasts raised, touched upon or indicated. Wishes to this effect were expressed throughout the whole 13 of the series. Cross-checking them, on occasion, with those we had heard during the general investigation, we found that they often supplemented these and carried them further. It is a pity the tele-clubs did not then embark upon a systematic campaign to induce their members to take up suitable reading. There is here, we repeat, a considerable possibility, which has not as yet been adequately developed, of helping to inculcate a taste for reading, as the Seattle experiment showed could be done in the case of a juvenile public.

What exactly were these wishes, as revealed by a minute examination of the log-books? The relate first and foremost to vocational training. The countryfolk would like to know more about the plants they grow, the animals they breed and employ. They suggest, as subjects for telecasts, "Fruit-trees and the pruning of trees" (Montfaucon), "The

life of insects, and insecticides", "Lives of the animals on our farms". But they also use machines, which often take the place of animals for working purposes. So they must keep pace with progress: "Display of the latest agricultural machinery" suggests Saint-Aubin. "The upkeep of machines" is Venteuil's request. Farmers are not—as might be supposed from their relatively unfavourable response to the telecast on over-production (ninth)—averse from considering general problems. But they would like these general questions to be discussed in more concrete terms. They suggest, for instance, "The price of wheat" (Aux Marais). "Etat d'urgence" has engendered the wish for a comparative knowledge of different ways of living and working. Here are some of the suggestions: "How do farmers work in other parts of France?" (Nesles). "How does the farmer's life compare with that of the shopkeeper and industrialist?" (Viffort). "The hard life of the farm labourer" (Etampes, Boullay-Mivoie). The features on domestic and family life aroused the wish for the the question of housing conditions in the country to be dealt with (Boullay-Mivoie)—and not merely the "model dwelling", as in the eleventh telecast. "Life in a farmer's home, summer and winter" (Montfaucon). "Leisure in the country", "The activity of the school co-operatives" (Saint-Aubin), "Fish and fishing", "Wild animals and shooting" (Venteuil). And the fact that the telecast on co-operation abroad was less liked than those dealing with co-operation in France, and attracted smaller audiences, does not necessarily mean that foreign questions are in general of smaller interest. This depends on the countries referred to and on the quality of the programme. For we find a great number of wishes expressed as a result of the feature on co-operatives in Canada and Denmark. "We ought to have more features on foreign countries" (Venteuil). "It would be a good thing to look into the problems of the agricultural proletariat, which are more numerous than those of the employers, and deal with the question of the drift from the countryside in comparison with foreign immigration" (Saint-Aubin). "Examples from abroad help one to make comparisons" (Nogentel). "Survey of the agricultural methods in foreign countries—especially those of Eastern Europe" (Nesles). "Let us be shown what happens in other countries, and especially in the U.S.S.R." (Fossoy). "More features on foreign countries" (Etampes).

This leaves no doubt that "Etat d'urgence" awoke or revived the wish for information and education on subjects connected with the work and spare-time occupations of countryfolk, not only in their own district, but also in the rest of France and abroad. As our series showed, introduction to local problems may lead to the gradual extension of general culture. But has it led to changes of attitude and behaviour?

AFTER "ETAT D'URGENCE": CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARDS MODERNIZATION

The results of any popular education undertaking can undoubtedly be measured by the change in attitudes and behaviour which it brings about in everyday life. It was unreasonable to suppose that century-old prejudices could be broken down in four months; and even more unreasonable to hope, through education, to create a new type of mentality—which can only be achieved by raising the standard of living and effecting "structural" alterations. But what we could do was to seek a means establishing and, if possible, measuring the extent of the change in attitude as regards modernization, brought about as a result of our programme. After an interval of four months, therefore, we put the questions incorporated in the initial investigation [1] to the same people as before, and in exactly the same circumstances—without, of course, reminding them of their earlier replies which most of them had forgotten. We made our method of checking as sensitive and accurate as possible by allowing for the mentality of the population—drawing a distinction firstly between serious plans and a mere desire for acquisition, and secondly between vague plans, detailed plans and plans already being carried out.

The changes were not, of course, sufficiently numerous for statistical calculations to be made for each of the 46 articles of agricultural equipment—individual or collective, public or domestic—enumerated in Method no. 2. What we did, therefore, was to separate the replies into "positive" and "negative" changes—taking four categories only, for the main types of equipment.

Changes were considered to be positive when refusal to

1. Method no. 2.

countenance modernization gave way to a desire for improvement or acquisition; when mere desire was replaced by a serious plan; or when a vague plan became a detailed plan or a plan in the course of implementation. Changes in the opposite direction were classed as negative.

In order to rule out, as far as possible, chance causes of change, cases in which replies were given to only one of the two sections of the questionnaire were not counted. These cases were too dubious, in either direction. They were treated according to the law of probabilities,[1] so as to calculate the exact significance of the change in question.

Change in Attitude of Small Farmers to the Modernization of Collective and Individual Agricultural Equipment, and of Public and Domestic Equipment

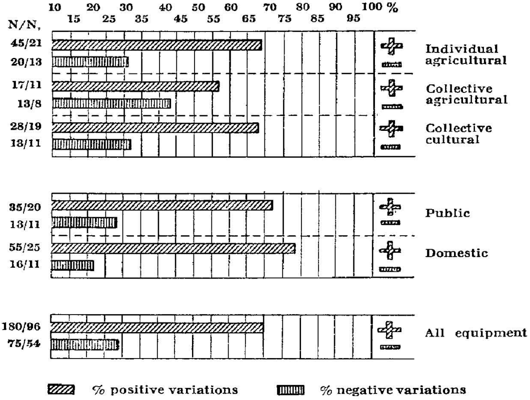
The largest number of positive changes apply to the repair of buildings or the construction of new ones. Next in order come the changes as regards the use of artificial fertilizer and seed selection; and then, far behind, changes as regards the use of tractors. So far as changes respecting individual agricultural equipment as a whole are concerned, 69 per cent are positive and 31 per cent negative. This difference was checked by a test, and it is highly probable that it was widespread (highly significant difference).

The same is not true of collective agricultural equipment, which is not surprising when we remember how much anti-co-operative feeling was revealed by the answers to the initial investigation and in the discussions on "Etat d'urgence". In this case, the differences between positive and negative changes cannot be said to be significant. They may be due merely to chance. The former are, however, slightly more numerous than the latter (57 per cent as against 43 per cent).

As regards collective cultural equipment, on the other hand, the attitude of the small farmers has become much more positive, especially where influenced by considerations relating to the organization of after-school leisure activities. After "Etat d'urgence", the attitude to post-school agricultural courses also underwent a favourable change, but not that to the commission for land re-allocation. In regard to collective cultural equipment, the attitude of small farmers

1. Cf. Methodological note: Application of Pearson's criterion, p. 232.

Graph 20. VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES OF SMALL FARMERS, ACCORDING TO CATEGORY OF EQUIPMENT



Note: N/N, = $\frac{\text{Number of variations}}{\text{Number of individuals}}$

evolved in a positive direction: 68 per cent as against 36 per cent (significant difference).

Changes in attitudes to public installations were positive rather than negative, especially in the matter of shower-baths, provision of a village hall, and main water supply. But the most marked progress in the small-farmer category was in respect of domestic equipment, especially with regard to washing-machines, housing repairs and the installation of running water over the sink. For domestic equipment, there were 78 per cent positive changes to 22 per cent negative (highly significant difference). The person who stands the most chance of having conditions slightly improved as a result of the "Etat d'urgence" type of programme is thus the farmer's wife. When we recall the information yielded by our initial investigation on the condition of women in the country, and their attitude, we cannot but hope that there will be more programmes of this type.

In short, the changes noted in the attitude of the small-farmer category to the various aspects of modernization indicate a very significant positive tendency.

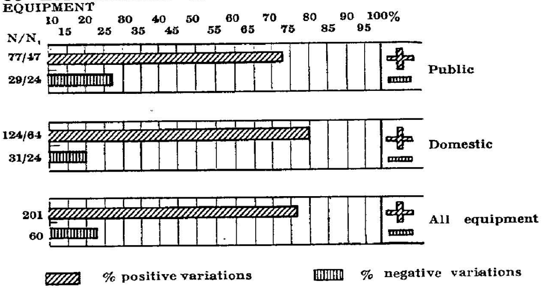
Changes in Attitude to the Modernization of Public and Domestic Equipment, Classified by Occupation, Sex and Age Group

The telecast dealing with women in the country evidently had considerable effect on the small-farmer category, since it is with regard to domestic equipment that the highest percentage of positive changes—80 per cent—was reported for the population as a whole. These figures are confirmed by other data on the same telecast: the number of viewers rose sharply, large numbers of people took part in the discussion, and the comments made on "Etat d'urgence" were the most constructive. The fact that this telecast was not actually the most popular was because its method of presentation was less good than that of certain others; but the people found the subject stimulating, and the telecast was an undoubted success.

In the case of both domestic and public equipment, the positive changes reported for the total population were similar to those occurring amongst the small-farmer category, which constitutes more than half of that population. The most positive changes refer, firstly, to the provision of shower-baths, village hall, water supply, wash-houses and sports ground; and secondly to washing-machines, repair of houses, installation of running water over the sink, and use of butane gas.

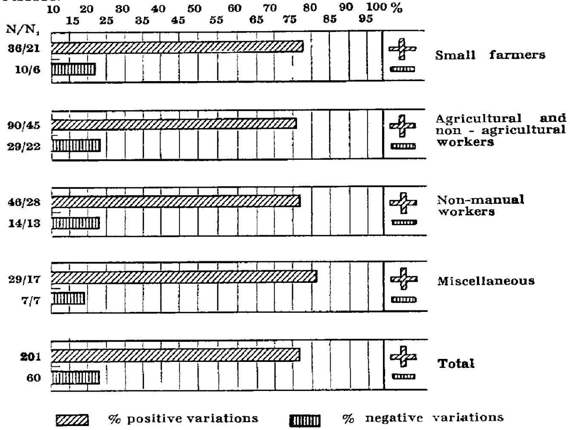
What is perhaps even more important is that these positive changes occur, to some extent, in persons of all occupations and age groups, and of both sexes (highly significant difference). The main point to be stressed, however, is the change in the attitude of those persons who were shown by the initial investigation as being the most bitterly opposed to, or chary of, modernization. There are of course no grounds for claiming that they have been converted in bulk, overnight, to technical or social progress. But we are justified in stating that, as a group, they have changed more than the other categories. The evolution of the workers—who are less recalcitrant than the small farmers, and more open-minded about technical and social progress—does indeed take a different course, with 90 positive changes per 58 workers as against 36 such changes

Graph 21. VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES OF POPULATION AS A WHOLE TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT



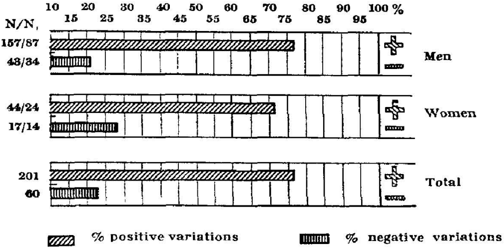
Note: N/N, = Number of variations / Number of individuals

Graph 22. VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION



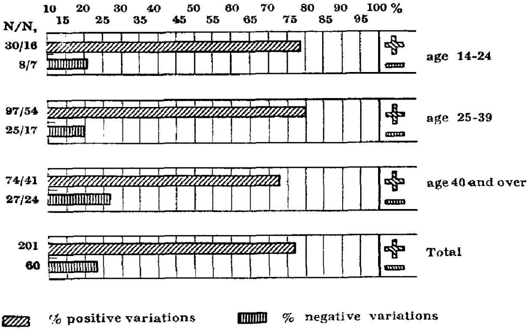
Note: N/N, = Number of variations / Number of individuals

Graph 23. VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO SEX



Note: N/N, = Number of variations / Number of individuals

Graph 24. VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TO MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT, ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS



Note: N/N, = Number of variations / Number of individuals

per 67 small farmers. On the other hand, 29 negative changes were reported among the workers, to 10 among the small farmers; with the net result that the proportion of positive and negative changes in the two categories was about the same: 78 per cent for the small farmers and 76 per cent for the workers, whereas the initial investigation showed that the latter category was much more favourable to modernization than was the former.

The same indications emerge, though not so clearly, from a comparison between the age group of over 40 and that of under 25. The final investigation showed that 6 per cent more of the younger age group took a positive attitude (79 per cent as against 73 per cent), whereas the difference in favour of the younger group, in the initial investigation, was 21 per cent. The difference between the figures for the first investigation and those for the second is undoubtedly due to the effect of "Etat d'urgence", probably through changes brought about in the over-40 group—since almost all the young people showed a positive attitude from the outset, which could be little altered subsequently.

But have these new attitudes led to new ways of behaviour?

NEW BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS

Here again, the period of observation was too brief (April-June 1954) for a really exhaustive survey to be made, quite apart from the difficulty of carrying out investigations of this kind at the level of ordinary everyday life. We fell back once more on the invaluable evidence of teacher-observers living among the people of a village, where often they themselves were actually born and bred. We therefore give the comments entered in the log-books as they stand. The only criterion adopted was absolute honesty; thus both the good and the bad effects of our programme are reported.

Some of the resulting attitudes and ways of behaviour are absolutely the opposite of what the authors of the programme were aiming at. Instead of feeling urged to combat the exodus from the country, a farm-girl of 20 drew the following conclusion from the series: "It's made me want to go and live in the town even more than I did before".

A 25-year-old office clerk, instead of showing more

understanding of the farmer's difficulties, declared: "I used to think that the sacrifices (the word is not too strong) called for on behalf of the farmers in order to give a new impetus to agriculture (subsidies of various kinds, easy-payment schemes, tax exemptions) would be more appreciated by those concerned, that progress would be more marked, and that the community and country as a whole would stand to benefit therefrom. I am disillusioned".

Instead of feeling an urge to modernize his home after the telecast on "the fine models and achievements of rural housing", an agricultural worker commented, rather understandably: "It's all like a dream to us. . . ."

Nevertheless, there are a greater number of cases in which the reactions correspond to the aims of the authors.

Improvement of domestic equipment. After the telecast on women in the country, a farmer criticized himself to the teacher for his indifferent attitude, concluding "More ought to be done to ease the women's position in the home; I'm going to do something about it".

Improvement of farming equipment. Some people who had vague ideas of modernizing their equipment took firm decisions. "As for me, I'm making an incubator—so is Lucien" (statement made by a farmer after the thirteenth telecast).

"Two farmers in the village have just bought themselves a washing-machine; the idea was certainly suggested or brought to a head by the telecast" (note by the schoolmaster at Saint-Aubin).

"Domestic science schools" remarked a farmer from the same village, after the tenth telecast "are often represented as a fancy scheme for big landowners. Now we see that an attempt is being made to provide them for everyone." Another farmer said: "It's given me the idea of sending my daughter to the school at Verdilly".

A farmer of 49, after the last telecast, said: "I'd never paid enough attention, before, to manure and the use of the tractor"; and another (aged 46) remarked: "I was using second-hand implements; I now think they cost just as much as new ones, and I can understand why the young people want to bring things up to date".

Public amenities. "The municipal council has just decided to lay on water, for which people have been asking for years" wrote, after the tenth telecast, the schoolmaster of a village whose mayor had attended the "Etat d'urgence" programmes regularly.

"The effect of the telecast on the community spirit (and what followed it) was certainly responsible for the decision of the trade union members to improve the tracks between the vineyards, with each man devoting one or more days to the work according to the size of his property" (report form the leader at Châtillon).

This brief summary of comments confirms earlier observations. The desires which found expression during the telecasts, the changes of attitude towards modernization, and the changes in actual behaviour noted in the village after the completion of the series, bear incontestable witness to the positive effects of "Etat d'urgence". The evidence of all reports, the observations of individual cases, and studies of statistics are all equally conclusive.

Ignorance and prejudice ... *(Photo: Seve.)*

... minds open to progress. *(Photo: Viollet.)*

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

We have now reached the end of our survey. We have recorded many encouraging results, but are uncertain as to how to conclude.

Our purpose in investigating the organization and significance of tele-clubs, the cultural potentialities of the most popular programmes, and the interest in and effects of the thirteen experimental "Etat d'urgence" telecasts, was to make a practical contribution to the solution of an important problem—namely, can television be used as an instrument of culture, and can collective viewing of television programmes be a means of education in rural areas?

Our investigations certainly produced a fair number of conclusions—some likely, others probable or certain. At the same time they faced us with new problems, which cannot be solved except by further experiments and further tests to check results for different milieux and different countries. In concluding this first investigation, therefore, we appeal to all teachers and all artists concerned with rural education to be bolder yet at the same time more careful in their use of television.

Tele-clubs are a new type of leisure institution. Their popularity, in rural areas, is greater than that of any other existing amenity; and, although they are a creation of the last four years, they have already become part and parcel of local life. They have adapted themselves to the requirements of the various seasons and to the pattern of the people's work and leisure. They have, in a short period, become a factor making for co-operation, and this despite the clashes of views and interests characteristic of all the villages covered by our experiment. They afford workers and small farmers many opportunities for self-expression, and provide a permanent centre of entertainment and cultural opportunity for the young. Thanks to these clubs, country people now possess an invaluable link with modern civilization which will enable their outlook to be broadened; they will feel much less cut off from the life of the towns,

and especially of the capital. The impact of international exchanges can now reach them and further advances in cultural "democratization" can take place in rural areas.

This does not mean, of course, that the tele-club opens the door to the best of all possible worlds; but the existence of an institution so attractive and so full of potentialities should cause group educationists to wonder whether they have made the best use of this new instrument. Insufficient attention is sometimes paid to the part played by the tele-club in the widespread movement towards the organization of leisure—essential for introducing a human note into our "technicians' society". Wherever tele-clubs exist, they bring about a radical transformation of group education in the locality; so there is every reason to suppose that they will, in the future, produce greater changes in this respect than any previous institution catering for the cultural use of leisure. The collective purchase of television sets, often at great expense, is proof of the extraordinary power of the tele-clubs as a spur to cultural co-operation. It harmonizes with the economic conditions in which most people in the economically under-developed or war-devastated countries will be living for a long time to come. It also provides a new means of meeting the aspirations, in the way of communal life, characteristic of small local communities which are seeking to establish a new balance between the individual and the social unit.

It is therefore important that educationists should lose no time in realizing that this new institution affords them an opportunity of extending their audience and increasing its "popular" character. The public affected by adult education, despite the growing use of audio-visual aids and other related up-to-date methods is still too small. The systematic but necessarily limited efforts of educationists are all too often negatived by the influence of the great modern communication media on a vast public. Through television and tele-clubs adult education can now reach the audience for which it is intended. Adult education has every interest, therefore, in exploiting television—the most attractive and effective of the media in question—for its own purposes. Tele-clubs should everywhere enable popular education effectively to adapt itself to modern methods for the dissemination of ideas, knowledge and culture.

We should not speak thus were we not convinced, not only that television can be used in popular education, but also that educators have an important part to play in

regard to this new Aesop's tongue, which may prove either good or evil, according to how it is used. When the cinema was first introduced, adult education was insufficiently developed to be able to influence the making of films. It failed, in 1924, to realize the advantages it could derive from the radio, or the effort that was required in order to bring instruction into the family circle. Is adult education going to miss its opportunity, and fail in its duty, once again. By whom else could the task be performed? We know how disastrous the influence of television can be when it is badly organized or wrongly used. Plenty of anxious enquiries on the subject have been made both in the United States of America and in Great Britain. Are we going to leave bars and cafés the monopoly of setting the tone for television? Are we going to let television invade the home without setting any standards, without training children, adolescents and parents to adopt a selective attitude towards it? Is education to wash its hands of the problem? It is the duty of those responsible for group education to set to work immediately, not only in rural areas but in the populous districts of towns, in homes and in schools, to organize collections for the joint purchase of television sets, and to form popular education groups.

We saw from the "Etat d'urgence" series that the tele-club leaders have an opportunity for introducing their own ideas and methods in programmes of a combined popular and cultural character. Why should there not be more such experiments? And, in exchange why should not television producers and organizers, so as to avoid, as far as possible, the twin pitfalls of vulgarity and aestheticism, take part in the most successful popular education schemes?

Tele-clubs everywhere could and should be used, like those in the Aisne Department, for experimental schemes. In a more general way, one of the greatest problems of television is that of maintaining constant and useful contact with the general public. It might be advisable—in order to supplement the information supplied by audience mail, public opinion polls and the notes of professional critics—to establish, for each television broadcasting station, a network of carefully selected tele-clubs which would report periodically, to the television authorities, on their members' comments regarding both the form and contents of the programmes. Such reports would surely

provide the best means of ascertaining the cultural requirements of the general public.

It may be objected that it is not possible, with these programmes, to undertake any popular education scheme. Those who have read this book and its appendixes will have been struck by our viewers' tributes to the scope and variety of the programmes of Télévision française, and by the fact that most of the programmes which people remembered and wanted repeated were of a high standard.

For all that, it is clear that Télévision française as at present constituted, despite its efforts to maintain a high standard, fails, in its programmes, to exploit all the opportunities for cultural improvement. On the strength of the reactions of the tele-clubs, we would suggest that programmes should be both more popular and more educational in character. This would enlarge the field of educational television by making it better adapted to the requirements of leisure in modern life. Even variety programmes could be used as a means of imparting cultural information; films could be employed in the same way as in film clubs, with an introduction and a running commentary; "stars" and current events could be used to much better purpose; and television could be exploited, far more extensively than at present, for introducing people to important literary works and encouraging reading.

"Etat d'urgence" has proved that it is possible to interest an ordinary rural audience in an important problem of public life. The topics of modernization, credit, and co-operative effort raised problems which no one had ever previously ventured to tackle, even in the popular education establishments in the villages concerned. This experiment showed that subjects taken from everyday life could appeal vividly to the people familiar with those particular problems, without, however, proving dull for the rest of the audience. The effect of "Etat d'urgence" has been to restore to everyday subjects the quality of major problems. Between a routine attitude to everyday existence, which cheapens its significance, and an escapist attitude, which denies it, there is room for a popular culture firmly linked to everyday work and leisure.

Our experimental television series has also shown how successfully a "cultural presentation" can be used for acquainting the general public with a vital current topic. It is worth giving a more detailed definition of the principles of this method of presentation, with a view to

helping producers to avoid the double pitfall of empty aestheticism and arid didacticism, and to plan programmes which are educational without being dull.

Presentation is first and foremost the transposition of a subject or an idea into audio-visual terms. This transposition is regarded as an independent operation, with its own unity and rhythm. It is no mere combination of "live" dialogues, texts read aloud, pieces of music or extracts from films, but a living composition, designed to reconstruct and evoke a "slice of life" through a combination of the various existing techniques for the imparting of information and the expressing of opinions.

A "cultural presentation" should not aim merely at colour or novelty; it should, according to the requirements of the subject treated, correspond to the patterns and needs of everyday life. It should relate men and events to their historical and geographical context; respect or even exploit the multifarious and sometimes contradictory aspects of psycho-social reality; and demonstrate the connexions which link persons, objects, situations and events and give them their fundamental significance.

Nevertheless, "presentation" would be but an empty mechanism, lacking any life of its own, unless it succeeded in transposing reality, in giving it clearer and more direct expression. This is what makes "presentation" a creative process which has to find a style of its own. It confers on time an evocative quality, and transforms space into a world of exploration or adventure. Movement enhances the true aspect of everyday objects; ideas are transposed into sentiments and emotions. When this happens "presentation" achieves its aim; it is significant without being didactic, colourful without degenerating into trivial anecdote. It "breathes", like every other living work of art.

But although we wish to see popular education using television much more widely and more enterprisingly, we think that it should exercise the greatest care in doing so. It is, in our view, increasingly important that both the television producer and the educator interested in television should adopt an "experimental" approach. As in the case of "Etat d'urgence", both the telecasts themselves and the ensuing discussions should be based, not on vague ideas, but on definite theories to be confirmed; their effect, moreover, should be checked not empirically, but methodically. From time to time, large-scale comparative

surveys should be made. Only so will it be possible to avoid the *a priorism* and empiricism which lead to concentrating on the public's reaction to programmes, rather than on the immediate or long-term influence of these on the behaviour, attitude and personality of millions of viewers.

Our survey was far too restricted for us to be able to supply hard-and-fast answers to these important problems; and many doubtful points remain, even where the results are clearest. To what extent will the tele-clubs promote the cultural progress of rural workers, so that these may live a full life in their original environment; or to what extent will they encourage such people to leave their surroundings? Will the progress of local communities with their increased participation in national and international life, lead to a real change in their mentality and "structure", or will it merely lead to partial, purely theoretical and therefore illusory solutions? Finally, to return to the question we asked at the outset: are the attitudes induced by television predominantly active or passive? What type of experimental programme is best calculated to improve viewers' professional work, to give them a taste for amateur theatricals or individual reading, or to encourage them to take up a healthy sport? Experiments such as that of Seattle, or our own, are merely the first fumbling attempts to use psycho-sociology in the evolving of a policy and a method for the imparting of education and culture through television. This scheme calls for experiments on a vast scale, and their checking by means of comparative surveys.

The stakes are very high. It is in fact a question of the very conception of human progress in modern society, where both leisure and work are becoming more and more mechanized with every day that passes, so that we are faced with the problem of how to adapt the structure of society so as to "humanize" technical progress. In order to solve these problems, organizers, television producers and educators will have to resort increasingly to the social sciences. It still too frequently happens that, not fully aware of the difficulties with which they are dealing, they do not feel the need for enlisting the assistance of those sciences, although it is indispensable. Under present conditions, although television provides a means of appealing to the ears and eyes of millions of people, their efforts tend often to be superficial or half-hearted, whereas they should be dealing with the basic problems raised by the mechani-

zation of modern life. Television may even exercise a harmful influence on the general outlook of the public, though imagining itself to be anodyne, or even beneficial. The main purpose of educators and television producers alike should be to acquire a precise knowledge of the principles—not necessarily explicitly stated—underlying the cultural action of television and its immediate or long-term results.

On the other hand, research-workers should draw up their hypotheses, work out their methods and carry out their checks in the closest possible collaboration with officials, artists, and teachers using the main communication media, such as television. The fact is that the concepts, methods and terminology used in scientific research often tend to discourage those who should derive most benefit from its work. This explains why the social sciences, despite their good intentions, still do not exercise as much influence as they should on practical everyday affairs. They still do not occupy the place they should in social life, the role which is theirs by right being at present taken by an exclusively technical or literary form of culture.

In addition to requiring close co-operation from television producers, the very scope of the problems involved also calls for collaboration between research-workers in the social sciences. In the course of our investigations sociologists, ethnographers and psychologists learned to work together in a team with television producers and popular educationists, on an international basis. In view of the great variety of methods necessary for a study of the different aspects of the psycho-social picture, a bald-headed scientific approach is useless; the work must be divided up amongst carefully co-ordinated teams, all working in the same direction. The words of Marcel Mauss are more applicable than ever: "We persist in thinking that the only way of making progress in the social sciences is to establish closer co-ordination between the different disciplines engaged on the study of the various aspects of social life, to standardize their methods, and to compare and co-ordinate their results". It is our hope that this survey of the reactions of French tele-clubs to the programmes of Télévision française may constitute a modest preliminary contribution to future experiments and comparative studies, whose importance and necessity it has, here, been our sole aim to demonstrate.

NOTES ON METHODS

Note 1 : Organization of teamwork for the survey

THE WORKING TEAM

The director of the survey took up his duties on 1 November 1953. His first step was to form a team since he regarded the job as essentially one for a team. A number of sociologists, psychologists and educationists were to take an active part in the planning and supervision. They were to proceed immediately to make a preliminary survey in villages selected beforehand as affording a suitable field for experimentation. Subsequently, they were to study, in conjunction with the director, the general plan of the survey, the working hypotheses and the preliminary drafts of the four working methods prepared by the director. The whole team would then take part in the training course arranged for local teacher-observers, to be held at Marly-le-Roi at the end of December.

After the first telecast in the series (7 January 1954) the members of the central team were to "go out into the field" to help the tele-club leaders organize the discussions and hold the interviews for filling up the printed questionnaires. These "expeditions", very frequent at first, were to become less frequent as the club leaders grew more familiar with their new jobs. But they would continue as long as the series continued, since every week would bring new difficulties to test the enthusiasm and resourcefulness of the local teams. On an average, each member of the central team would attend five or six meetings during the 13 week period of the programme, mostly at the same tele-club, each team member was to have his special district, and would act as "godfather" to one or two clubs.

In the intervals, the members of the central team were to keep in touch with the teacher-leaders by letter or telephone, and there was to be a weekly meeting at the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, generally on Monday morning, which would be attended by the director and at which each team member would report on his movements and make known the wishes of the local leader visited and local viewers. The director of the

survey could take advantage of these meetings to inform his assistants of the contacts made during the week, circulate any written plans or instructions, discuss the work and allocate jobs for the coming week. Finally, Mr. Roger Louis, or another member of the production team, would report to the sociology team on progress made with the scheme of experimental telecasts, and on any difficulties encountered. The television producers would thus be kept informed of reactions observed at first hand by the experts in psychology and sociology at meetings they had attended. Occasionally, say, twice or three times during the experiment, the two teams would hold a joint meeting to review their work as a whole. At these weekly meetings of the central team the final list would be drawn up of standard questions for teacher-observers to ask viewers at the next telecast. Every week, the secretary of the central team would issue a circular to each tele-club, containing information, advice, and instructions for organizing discussions and applying checks.

Subsequently, after the close of the "Etat d'urgence" series, the members of the sociological team would continue to visit the villages under their charge and assist leaders in filling up the final questionnaires, in particular those for the general survey of the Télévision française (programmes) (Method no. 4). The enquiry obviously entailed an enormous amount of work for persons already fully engaged in absorbing personal and professional jobs. It placed on them a heavy extra burden; but for their untiring devotion the enquiry could not have been successfully pursued to the end.

The central team would have had to work in a vacuum, without the unremitting, selfless and energetic assistance of local teams formed under teacher-leaders, who agreed, on this occasion, to take on this job of educator-observer in addition to their many other duties. They all had to be given a certain amount of training in scientific observation methods, which they passed on, in their turn, to the local assistants they were themselves to recruit. To keep correctly the log-book for a tele-club of some thirty members, each teacher required two or three assistant observers—otherwise he would have had to hold up the discussion while he took notes. These assistants, through their knowledge of the local population and their personal contacts among certain categories of viewers, were able to be of assistance to the teacher in his contacts both with televiewers and with the other members of the local population engaged on filling up the other questionnaires. To help them in their observation work, the leaders chose active members of the tele-club who had already shown their mettle in the organization of the clubs or in local research. Some of them were students or teachers, but the bulk were craftsmen, tradesmen, farmers and workers, usually self-taught men. One of the most encouraging aspects of our work, and one which brought us closest to the

ideal of group education, was the fact that we were helped in our scientific research by men who, though many of them had only barely obtained their primary school certificate, proved capable of conscientiously complying with scientific instructions when asking set questions and recording the answers.

PREPARATORY TRAINING COURSE AT MARLY

A training course for the teacher-observers in charge of local teams was organized at the Institut National d'Education populaire at Marly-le-Roi, from 18 to 22 December 1953. The course was attended, as already stated, by all the research workers belonging to the central team, and by the programme producer of the experimental series. The Ministry of Education (Department of Primary Education) kindly granted the 15 tele-club teacher-leaders the requisite period of leave; in addition, the heads of the various official departments concerned paid visits to the course, as did the Director of Unesco's Department of Mass Communication.

The syllabus of the course was as follows:

First day. 9 p.m. Reception of trainees. Introductions.

Second day. Morning: 9 a.m. Opening of course. Importance of this course in preparation for team research work. What have tele-clubs achieved so far? Experimental rural telecasts between November 1953 and April 1954.

Afternoon: Reports on organization and educational methods used in tele-clubs. Practical conclusions. Cultural and educational guidance of tele-club activities.

Third day. Morning: 9 a.m. Practical and experimental teaching methods: Checking results. How to keep a log-book. Experimental teaching methods and the psycho-sociological organization of leisure. Announcement of the research plan: 1. problems and hypotheses; 2. experimental field (sub-division by time and area: main sections, experimental groups, sample groups); 3. research methods (historical method and statistical method, direct enquiries: objective method, subjective method); 4. accessory techniques.

Afternoon: 3 p.m. Problem and hypotheses. Observation and interpretation. General form of questionnaires and scales. Statements and discussions.

Fourth day. Morning: 9 a.m. The experimental field: how to conduct direct investigations in the main groups. Objective methods and accessory techniques. Practical work and discussion.

Afternoon: Subjective methods and accessory techniques. Practical work and discussion.

Fifth day. Brief outline of the historical method applied in the survey. Possible contribution by researchers. Brief outline

of the statistical method: Direct observation, preparation of maps, curves and graphs.

Thanks to Mr. Marcel Maget's manual, *Guide d'étude directe des comportements culturels*,[1] teacher-observers were able to penetrate more deeply the problems dealt with in this five-day course.

For the benefit of certain leaders who were unable to be present at Marly, the subjects covered were recapitulated at two meetings organized by members of the central team on 7 January 1954 at Château Thierry and Beauvais (Oise). The five-day course and these supplementary meetings were the starting point of the experiment. These five days of communal life and study were more valuable than any investigations, personal interviews or circular letters.

Stages of the Survey

The next step was to co-ordinate the timing of the various subdivisions of the enquiry. This problem was more troublesome to solve inasmuch as the period allocated, in any case too short, was further reduced by the fact that the teachers' official duties prevented us from holding the course at Marly at the end of November, as originally planned. It followed that the "Etat d'urgence" telecasts and the commencing dates both of the initial referendum (Method no. 2), and of the general survey of the commune (Method no. 1) were postponed for five weeks; a delay which could not be made good by shortening the time earmarked for analysing the data and drafting the final report, as the date for the submission for the latter had been fixed from the outset for the beginning of September. We had therefore to make out a very concentrated work plan, and enforce strict discipline among the various teams. Although we worked constantly with one eye on the clock we could not avoid a certain number of mishaps—inevitable in any field research work—which upset the timetable thus fixed, so that now and then we had all the sensations of a runner being timed against the stop-watch.

The main stages of the research plan were as follows:

1 November 1953 - 7 January 1954: Preparatory stage.

7 January 1954 - 31 March 1954: Broadcast of the "Etat d'urgence" series. Application of Methods nos. 1, 2, 3.

1 April 1954 - 30 June 1954: Application of Methods nos. 2a and 4.

July 1954: Analysis and evaluation of data.

August, September, October 1954: Evaluation of data (continued) and drafting of report.

1. Mr. Maget, *Guide d'étude directe des comportements culturels*, Editions Civilization, Paris, 1953.

Note 2: General remarks on the use of observation and experiment in the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure

OBSERVATION

The most reliable and accurate techniques and methods are those which allow for the recording of the slightest variations and differences according to group and situation.

1. An active attitude is not reduced to an opinion, divorced from its origins and effects. It is, first and foremost, a direct or indirect reaction to a process of psycho-social conditioning. Observation, to be complete, must cover the twin phenomena, action and reaction. Opinion finds its place in the cycle of everyday life: action of the environment, impressions, opinions, volition, reactions to the environment.
2. The attitude towards leisure is not static. Observation must record not merely a state, but a trend as well. We have to discern the factors susceptible to change and the latent needs which, in certain conditions, may express themselves in new attitudes.
3. Hence, it is not sufficient to record average attitudes. These represent merely the existing norms of the groups, but these norms are not homogeneous and they evolve. Important though it is to know how far the reaction of a sample is typical of these norms, it is equally important to record the innovating attitudes [1] which cause the norm to evolve. They may typify the group's subsequent attitudes which they help to form.
4. These attitudes will be better known by evaluating their tension and intensity. It would be incompatible with scientific progress to give up analysing them quantitatively on the ground that sociometry has gone too far in the application of statistics to psycho-social phenomena.
5. We believe, too, that quantitative research on active attitudes should be completed by qualitative research. In the first place, it would be misleading to look for an arithmetical precision greater than that of the facts which the figures reflect. Secondly, the reduction of an attitude to a percentage, average or index does not relieve us of the need for qualitative research on the complex phenomena bound up with the functions of recuperation, entertainment and the development of leisure in our industrial societies. A functional study of the active attitudes integrated in daily life,

---

1. Georges Gurvitch, *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie : les conduits effervescents*, Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1950.

both in time and space, demands an analysis of all these diverse, conflicting or incompatible complexes.

EXPERIMENT

If evolution and conditioning are as important as we believe for the knowledge of our subject, an analysis will have to be made, when a hypothesis so demands, of the change brought about in the mode of conditioning. That is why the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure insists on experiment.

If experiment is to be conclusive, the scheme by which it is to be carried out must not produce artificial reactions. The motiveless proffering of a "threat" or "reward", merely to see the effect upon groups having no existence outside the scheme, is unsuitable in our case.

Experiment must be carried out "on the spot" in normal conditions such as to give scope for genuine reactions on the part of the sample selected. For that reason, experiment in the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure calls for teaching methods that promote the development of new relationships between the individual and his environment. The psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure and the teaching of leisure activities are two complementary aspects of the same experimental approach.

In this respect, the organization of leisure may constitute a unique type of experiment. The groups seek to change the conditioning of their members and to encourage a more active employment of leisure. All that is needed is to introduce observation and experiment in accordance with the rules of science. A methodical check of the results of the action of these groups and the guidance of that action in a certain direction with the use of provisional hypotheses may then represent a decisive advance in the psycho-sociology of the active employment of leisure.

Note 3: The problem of sampling

The choice of samples was governed first by the aims in view. We did not set out to make tests of a representative sample of the membership of all the 180 existing rural tele-clubs. To do so would have been of very little use for the purpose of our experiment. Many of the clubs are still too young, their educational activities are too restricted and they have not yet fully grasped the true function of a tele-club. Our aim, on the contrary, was: (a) to investigate the cultural possibilities presented by this novel type of group, and by television

programmes, and (b) to check the effects of a series of experimental telecasts. Since our psycho-sociological experiments were essentially educational in character (in the broad sense of the term, as explained above), it was essential: (a) that our tele-clubs should function regularly; (b) that they should engage in educational activities; (c) that programmes should be preceded by an introduction and followed by a discussion; and (d) that the clubs should be organized by a leader capable of acting both as teacher and as observer, of recording reactions before stating his own opinion and of encouraging discussion without attempting to guide it along fixed lines. Our purpose was therefore to seize upon the viewers' reactions at the moment of birth and throughout their development. It might be termed a dynamic research method.

It was in the light of these aims that our samples were selected. The problem might be put thus: how were we to define it in such a way that our experiments should be carried out in the best possible—but in no way exceptional—conditions? We had, moreover, to be able effectively to apply our findings with a minimum of error to the body of social categories from which the sample was taken. The procedure we adopted was as follows:

1. There was nothing special about the equipment of our experimental tele-clubs. The sets used and the fittings of the club rooms were those which are standard in French out-of-school and after-school clubs.
2. The only persons capable of acting as teacher-observers were specially qualified primary school teachers, who, however, naturally differed in temperament and professional capacity. The group of 15 school-teachers selected were fairly typical of the organizers of popular education groups.
3. In selecting the samples we aimed, as explained above, at neutralizing regional factors as far as possible, and isolating the different socio-occupational factors, sex and age factors. We wanted each tele-club to keep its usual audience, except that we sought to increase the proportion of small farmers, whose reactions were our main target. In order to be able to draw general conclusions from the study, conducted within the sample, of the differences between the various categories we re-arranged the sub-categories so as to obtain a big enough group to be subjected to a significant test.

Note 4: The theory of small samples and the application of Pearson's criterion to the investigation

It was long thought that nothing useful could be obtained from very small samples—five to ten units, for example—and that the calculation of probabilities could only be applied to data obtained from large samples. However, an English statistician, Student, has found a method for the comparison of averages and indices calculated from very small samples. There are various statistical tests for calculating whether the differences or variations observed in small samples are due to chance or to the variation factor which, *ceteris paribus*, has been isolated. We used Pearson's test, which gives a very detailed analysis, since it is based on global comparison of the group of frequencies which represent a distribution observed in a small sample with the corresponding group of theoretical frequencies, calculated on the basis of the hypothesis requiring to be tested. With this method, we were able to ascertain the significant and highly significant differences between the various regrouped categories in our tele-clubs, with regard to programme preferences, and attitudes to modernization before and after the "Etat d'urgence" series. Note that, while this test enables us to prove, with a high degree of probability, the existence of a non-accidental variation-factor, it does not enable us to prove the absence of that factor. In other words, whenever we observe differences and variations which, according to the test, are not significant, we can always assume that our hypothesis would perhaps be tested if we had a larger sample to work on. This supposition is the more likely to be correct the bigger the differences and variations in our averages indices or frequencies.

Note 5: Calculation of the positive and negative indices of programme appraisal

The index was calculated not on an average of three marks, but on two; the index of approval, or positive index was calculated from mark 6 and mark 5; and the index of disapproval, or the negative index, from mark 1 and mark 2, multiplied by the coefficient 2 and 1, so that the highest negative index should correspond to the lowest mark. The positive and negative indices were calculated from the sum total of marks awarded, while the positive and negative averages were calculated from the total number of positive and negative marks respectively.

If F is the frequency of a mark, n the actual mark and N the

number of marks awarded, the index for each mark will be $F \times n/N$. In order to obtain the positive index for each telecast in the series, we made this calculation for mark 6 and mark 5, and took the average of two indices. To obtain the negative index, we proceeded in the same way for mark 2 and mark 1, multiplied by the coefficient 1 and 2.

Since the groups were fairly small (225 answers being the theoretically possible maximum for each telecast, with a variable number of abstentions) we tested the differences between the indices for the various categories in order to ascertain the statistically significant or highly significant differences.

Abstentions: In the case of programmes which are received regularly, abstentions very probably indicate disapproval. The clearest instance of this is the programme "Lecture pour tous". For one thing, the peak figures for the negative index are accompanied by a fall in the positive index, which indicates that only a very small section of the tele-club audience likes this programme. Those, therefore who fail to reply are probably indicating disapproval, because they do not feel enough interest to reply. This interpretation has been fully confirmed by oral soundings.

APPENDIXES

I. Description of communes in which the experimental tele-clubs are situated

(based on Questionnaire no. 1)

It may be helpful to list below in fuller detail the chief characteristics of the communes which formed our experimental area, thus enabling the reader to cross-check and interpret the fragmentary particulars given in the previous pages. This information has been assembled from the descriptive accounts prepared by the teachers in greater or lesser detail according to evaluation requirements.

MONTFAUCON

Department	Aisne.
District	Charly. 10 miles from the chief town of the district; 8 miles from the nearest town, Château-Thierry. Consists of 10 hamlets.
Population [1]	208 in 1946; 140 are living in the main area; the rest are scattered and take no part in the life of the community. Population was 270 in 1911. Decrease of almost a quarter in 35 years.
Occupations	Agricultural . . . . 59 viz. { 8 farm labourers; 41 small farmers [2]; 10 large farmers }

1. Adult population.
2. The farmsteads selected varied according to district and crop. The most frequent were: small farms, under 20 hectares; medium farms, 20-100 hectares; large farms, over 100 hectares.

	Non-agricultural	37
	none of whom is occupied in industry.	
Age	1-14 years	32
	15-25 years	19
	26 + years	77
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études*[1]	45
	Certificat d'études	45
	Above *certificat d'études*	6
Farms	Total number	19
	viz. 8 small	
	8 medium	
	3 large	
	or 13 farmed by the owner	
	6 let to tenant-farmers	
Standard of living	Needy	6
	Poor	25
	Middling	60
	Well-to-do	35
	Rich	10
Attitude towards the tele-club	Hostile	4
	Suspicious	6
	Indifferent	40
	Favourable	50
	Very favourable	20

VIFFORT

Department	Aisne.	
District	Condé-en-Brie. 6 miles from the chief town of the district; 7.5 miles from Château-Thierry. Consists of 17 hamlets.	
Population	254 in 1946; 349 in 1901 (decrease of over a quarter in 45 years).	
Occupations[2]	Agricultural	206
	viz 87 farm hands and labourers	
	119 small farmers	

1. The *certificat d'études* is the French primary school leaving certificate.
2. Some who work in the commune do not live there.

	Non-agricultural . . . . . 78 including 17 factory workers
Age	1-14 years . . . . 72 15-25 years . . . . 42 26 + years 140
Farms	Total number . . . . . . 36 viz { 18 small, 12 medium, 6 large or { 26 being farmed by the owner, 9 let to tenant farmers, 1 unclassified
Standard of living[1]	Needy . . . . 4 Poor . . . . 23 Middling . . . . 29 Well-to-do . . . . 19 Rich 6

VENTEUIL

Department	Marne.
District	Epernay. 7.5 miles to chief town; 15.5 from Rheims.
Population	609 in 1946. 622 at present. 790 in 1921. Decrease of about a quarter in 25 years. Two-thirds of the population live in the main village; the rest are divided between two hamlets and a few isolated farms about 1 km away.
Occupations	Agricultural (wine-growers) . . 222 30 of whom make their own champagne.
Farms	All mixed, owner-farmers and tenant-farmers.
Standard of living	Needy . . . . 2 Poor . . . . . . a few

1. The investigator counted only the heads of households.

	Middling	about 35%
	Well-to-do	about 50%
	Rich	about 10%
Attitude to the tele-club	Hostile	3
	Indifferent	about 30%
	Favourable	about 70%

Recreations and cultural facilities	The tele-club belongs to a school co-operative, which arranges one cine-club programme per week and two cultural travel events per year.

CHATILLON-SUR-MARNE

Department	Marne.	
District	Châtillon. 11 miles from the nearest town, Epernay; 20 miles from Rheims.	
Population	858 at present; declining (909 in 1911). 2 hamlets and 1 isolated farm.	
Occupations [1]	Agricultural (all wine-growers)	168
	viz { 6 labourers, 162 small growers }	
	Non-agricultural	329
	of which 171 factory workers	
	People living on pensions or small unearned incomes	38
	Miscellaneous (women)	28
Age	1-14 years	126
	15-25 years	99
	25+ years	338
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études*	240
	Certificat d'études	293
	Above *certificat d'études*	30
Farms		100
	viz { 97 farmed by the owners, 3 let to tenant-farmers }	
	viz { 95 small, 5 medium }	

1. Children are shown under their father's occupation.

Standard of living[1]	Poor	10
	Modest comfort	150
	Well-to-do	40
	Rich	2
Tele-club goers	. . . .	41
	Children attending school television shows	47
	(A total of 88 people).	

DAMMARD

Department — Aisne.

District — Neuilly-Saint-Front. 3 miles to chief town; 5 miles from La Ferté-Milon.

Population — 408 in 1946.
Approx. 420 at present (on the increase) —320 in the village, 100 in the hamlet 2 miles away.

Occupations — Agricultural . . . . approx. 150
Workers employed on three large farms and in a distillery; a few seasonal workers
Non agricultural 25
viz { 10 tradesmen, 10 professional men, 5 clergy

Age — 1-14 years . . . . . approx. 150
14-25 years . . . . . approx. 80
26 + years . . . . . approx. 170

Nationality — Many foreigners among the agricultural workers:
Poles (all well assimilated) . . . 58
Italians 15
Germans 7
Dutch 6

Farms — 2 (600 hectares and 350 hectares respectively); prior to 1914, 13 farms.

1. Households.

Standard of living	The great majority of families belong to the "poor" and "middling" categories.
Recreation and cultural facilities	Since 1946 a "rural centre" has been in existence, with a cinema, library, theatricals, singing and dancing, sport and television, as well as an ideal home section.

SAINT-AUBIN

Department	Aube.
District	Nogent-sur-Seine. 3 miles from chief town.
Population	350, of whom 282 in the built-up area (in 1871, 600 inhabitants). Seasonal migration: approximately 50 Parisians come for the summer.

Occupations [1]

Agriculture		53
viz	43 workers	
	2 small farmers	
	8 large farmers	
Non-agricultural		59
21 of whom in industry (all workers)		

Age

1-14 years	103
15-25 years	29
26 + years	181

Foreigners — 40 persons born abroad, of whom 11 are Poles and 12 Italians.

Farms [2]

. . . .		10
viz	2 small	
	3 medium	
	5 large	
or	2 farmed by their owners	
	8 tenant-farmers	

Standard of living [1]

Poor	20
Middling	70

1. Households.
2. 32 in 1913.

	Well-to-do	12
	Rich	6

Attitude to the tele-club

Hostile: a few
Indifferent: many
Very favourable: about 10 workers, industrial and agricultural.

No other cultural activities

NESLES-LA-MONTAGNE

Department — Aisne.

District — Château-Thierry. 2.5 miles from the chief town of the district.

Population — 386. Little seasonal movement; remains stable.
1 built-up area with 211 inhabitants.
3 hamlets.
13 isolated farms, 0.5 to 2 miles away.

Occupations

Agricultural	146
viz 89 workers	
viz 21 small farmers	
viz 36 big farmers	
Non-agricultural	80
of whom 56 in industry (all workers).	
Schoolchildren and infants in the low age group	79
Retired or living on private means	81

Age

1-14 years	63
15-25 years	27
26 + years	296

Standard of education

Below *certificat d'études*	267
Certificat d'études	85
Above *certificat d'études*	34

Farms — 19

viz: 7 small; 5 medium; 7 large

or: 6 farmed by owner; 12 let to tenant-farmers; 1 for which rent paid in kind

Standard of living (including children)	Needy / Poor	25
	Middling	321
	Well-to-do / Rich	40

No cultural activities other than the tele-club.

ETAMPES

Department Aisne.

District Château-Thierry. 2 miles to chief town.

Population 772
viz { 480 in the built-up area
292 scattered }

Occupations

Agricultural	13
viz { 5 labourers, 6 small farmers, 2 large farmers }	
Non-agricultural	249
of which 87 industrial (85 workers) and 121 office workers and civil servants	
Retired or private means.	60
Miscellaneous (women without occupations, etc.)	210

Farms 4
viz { 3 small
1 large }

NOGENTEL

Department Aisne.

District Château-Thierry. 2 miles from the chief town of the district.

Population 555.
431 in 1911.
513 in 1856.

Occupations	excluding children and wives without occupations.
	Agricultural 58
	viz { 19 labourers, 37 small farmers, 2 large farmers
	Non-agricultural 99
	of which 60 in industry (workers) and 21 minor civil servants and office workers
	Retired 40
Age	1-14 years 89
	15-25 years 79
	25 + years 387
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études* 327
	Certificat d'études 180
	Above *certificat d'études* 48
Farms	 15
	viz { 9 small, 5 medium, 1 large
	All mixed, worked by owners and tenant-farmers.
Standard of living	Poor 10%
	Middling 79%
	Well-to-do 10%
	Rich 1%
Attitude to the tele-club	Hostile 2%
	Suspicious 2%
	Indifferent 44%
	Favourable 40%
	Very favourable 12%
	The tele-club is run by a very active, secular group (cinema, theatre, sport, travel).

CRAMAILLE

Department	Aisne.
District	Oulchy-le-Château. 4 miles from the nearest town, Fère-en-Tardenois; 12.5

	miles from Soissons, and 15 miles from Château-Thierry.
Population	206. 186 in 1936 (on the increase). Foreigners: 25 (12 Poles, 6 Italians, 6 Belgians, 1 Russian). The dwellings are close together, only one farm at a distance.
Farms	Mixed; worked by owners and tenant-farmers.
Industries	One sugar refinery employing 20 workers.
Standard of living [1]	Needy . . . . 3 Poor . . . . 6 Middling . . . . 15 Well-to-do . . . . 13 Rich 3
Attitude to the tele-club	A few indifferent; the majority in favour; 80% of families very much in favour (in the beginning some suspicion on the part of families with religious leanings).
	No cultural activity apart from the tele-club.

BOULLAY-MIVOIE

Department	Eure-et-Loir.
District	Nogent-le-Roi. 6 miles from Dreux; 15.5 miles from Chartres.
Population	249 in 1946 (73 households). 372 in 1851 (maximum). 238 in 1921 (minimum). Stable at present: 167 in the main village (1946); 86 in the hamlet of Fonville (1946).

1. Households.

Occupations	Agricultural	152
	of whom 77 are labourers	
	Non-agricultural	82
	of whom 11 are industrial workers	
	Retired	15
Age	under 14 years	55
	14-25 years	43
	25 + years	151
Farms	. . . .	19
	viz: 4 farmed by their owners; 11 let to tenant-farmers; 4 mixed	
Standard of living[1]	Poor . . . . 13 (39 persons)	
	Middling . . . 33 (138 persons)	
	Well-to-do . . . 19 (48 persons)	
	Rich . . . . 8 (24 persons)	

The tele-club is run by a school club which organizes cultural travel and sports activities.

COUDRAY-ST-GERMER

Department Oise.

Population 315 in 1954.
Foreigners: 28 Belgians, 2 Poles, 2 Italians.
Built-up area: 242.
Scattered: 73.

Occupations[2]	Agricultural	51
	viz: 28 labourers; 16 small farmers; 7 big farmers	
	Non-agricultural	35
	of which 6 in industry (all workers)	
	6 in industry (all workers)	
	Retired or living on small private means	11

1. Households.
2. Heads of families.

Age	1-14 years	100
	15-25 years	37
	25 + years	178
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études* (143 adults, 89 children)	232
	Certificat d'études	68
	Above *certificat d'études*	15
Farms		23
	viz { 7 small, 15 medium, 1 large	
	or { 7 farmed by the owner, 16 let to tenant-farmers	
Standard of living [1]	Needy	4
	Poor	21
	Middling	41
	Well-to-do	30
	Rich	4

The attitude to the tele-club is generally favourable, since it "suits the young of both sexes, old people and children".

LES MARAIS

Department

Oise.
This commune was created on 15 January 1954 out of part of the former commune of Saint-Martin-le-Nœud. Its area is 572 hectares which include 230 of wood land, 220 of arable land and 104 of miscellaneous pasture and grass land. Crops, various (no vines).

Population

376 at present.
A dormitory village for many workmen and office-workers employed at Beauvais.
Population in built-up area: 302.
Scattered population: 74.
Slight increase of 9 as compared with 1946. This increase has been fairly constant for the past century.

1. Househo

Occupations	Agricultural	34
	Non-agricultural	130
	Without occupation	212
Age	Under 14 years	101
	15-25 years	75
	25 + years	200
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études*	30 %
	Certificat d'études	40%
	Above *certificat d'études*	30%
Farms		12
	viz { 8 small; 4 medium	
	viz { 3 farmed by the owner; 9 let to tenant-farmers	
Standard of living	Needy	3 %
	Poor	5%
	Middling	50%
	Well-to-do	40%
	Rich	2%

MONTREUIL-AUX-LIONS

Department	Aisne. 10 miles from Château-Thierry.	
Population	646 at present (478 in the built-up area). Declining. 700 in 1900. 614 in 1946.	
Occupations	Agricultural	145
	viz { 83 farmers and their families; 62 labourers	
	Non-agricultural	501
	viz { 295 workers and their families; 206 others	
Age	Under 14 years	153
	15-25 years	67
	25+ years	426
Standard of education	Below *certificat d'études*	387
	Certificat d'études	227
	Above certificat d'études	32

Farms		10
	viz: 6 small, 3 medium, 1 large	
	or: 5 farmed by the owner, 5 let to tenant-farmers	
Standard of living	Needy	2 %
	Poor	10%
	Middling	59%
	Well-to-do	25%
	Rich	4%

II. Categories of population used in the field survey

Socio-occupational Categories

These were established to suit communes inhabited by both rural and town workers. They are, however, for the use of all localities. Some will therefore show a nil return for the missing categories.

The criteria on which this classification, planned to meet the specific needs of our survey, was based, are: nature of productive work, standard of living and culture, social mentality, education.

P. 1: 1. Servants and houseworkers.
2: 2. Agricultural labourers: permanent, seasonal, daily.
3: 3. Workers and semi-skilled workers in industry.
4: 4. Skilled workers or foremen in industry.
5: 5. Office workers or lower-grade civil servants.
6: 6. Self-employed craftsmen.
7: 7. Small farmers or tenant-farmers (paying rent in kind).
8: 8. Small tradesmen.
9: 9. Professional workers (engineers, etc.) in private industry and higher-grade civil servants.
10: 10. Big farmers and estate owner-managers.
11: 11. Heads of industrial establishments and large-scale tradesmen.
12: 12. Liberal professions, clergy, state school-teachers.
13: 13. Retired persons in receipt of a pension.
14: 14. Persons living on private means.
15: 15. Miscellaneous.

Age (not a formal age pyramid at 5-yearly periods, but a pyramid of real ages according to the bio-psycho-social criterion)

A. 16: 1. Children under 8.
17: 2. Children of 9-11.
18: 3. Children of 12-14.
19: 4. Adolescents, 15-17.
20: 5. Adolescents, 18-21.
21: 6. Adolescents, 22-25 (average age of marriage: men 26, women 23).
22: 7. Adults of 26-34.
23: 8. Adults of 35-49.
24: 9. Adults of 50-65.
25: 10. Adults of 65 +.

Sex

S. 26: F.
27: M.

Family Status

F. 28: 1. Unmarried widower or divorced without children.
29: 2. Married without children.
30: 3. Married with one or two children without other dependants.
31: 4. Married with one or two children with other dependants (number).
32: 5. Married with three or more children without other dependants.
33: 6. Married with three or more children with other dependants (number).
34: 7. Unmarried widower or divorced with children.

Standard of Education

I. 35: 1. Below *certificat d'études.*
36: 2. *Certificat d'études.*
37: 3. Post-primary studies or diplomas (supplementary courses, apprenticeship centre, first years of technical college, C.A.P., *brevet professionnel*).
38: 4. Secondary or higher education diplomas (*brevet d'études secondaires du premier cycle, baccalauréat* and beyond).

Note. On comparing this list with the tables in Appendix III, two main differences are found: 1. The last two categories (family status and standard of education) have not been used. The information they furnished added nothing of real importance to that provided by the age, and occupation categories.

2. The sub-divisions of the three remaining categories, occupation, sex and age, have been regrouped for statistical purposes.

III. The population under survey after statistical regrouping

THE POPULATION UNDER SURVEY AFTER REGROUPING OF THE SUB-CATEGORIES

Categories	*I*	*II*
Occupations		
Small farmers and rural self-employed craftsmen	67	54
Agricultural and non-agricultural workers	58	74
Non-manual workers (office workers, professional workers and management on big farms or in industry, liberal professions, etc.)	90	49
Miscellaneous (women without occupation, retired persons in receipt of a pension, students, apprentices)	16	48
Sex		
Men	164	128
Women	67	97
Ages		
14-20 years	30	62
21-24 years	11	25
25-39 years	73	73
40 and over	117	65

I. Initial and final enquiry into the reactions of tele-clubs to the modernization of public, group and domestic equipment (questionnaire no. 2).[1] Number of persons questioned: 231.

II. General enquiry into the reactions of tele-clubs to the Télévision Française programmes (questionnaire no. 4). Number of persons questioned: 225.

1. It should be remembered that questionnaire no. 1 consists of a description survey of each commune.

LOG BOOK FOR THE 13 TELECASTS IN THE "ETAT D'URGENCE" SERIES IN THE TELE-CLUBS (QUESTIONNAIRE No. 3)

Categories	*Telecasts*													*Total*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*	*XII*	*XIII*	
Total population (including children)	332	316	254	238	305	234	390	240	290	384	284	244	330	3,841
Occupations														
Population gainfully employed	245	265	237	219	239	284	341	179	180	216	162	177	240	2,984
Agricultural occupations:														
Small farmers and rural self-employed craftsmen (6%)	105	104	91	110	91	122	170	67	69	97	52	56	86	1,220
Agricultural labourers	23	37	34	27	36	29	31	16	12	17	14	25	20	325
Big farmers	11	17	15	21	12	19	14	15	15	18	9	17	9	192
Non-agricultural occupations:														
Non-agricultural workers	37	35	35	26	36	57	43	27	33	37	36	31	57	484
Non-manual workers	33	31	29	33	27	35	37	26	23	26	19	25	36	380
Ages														
14-21 years	68	56	56	46	50	67	67	45	57	52	34	46	62	710
22-25 years	27	22	24	18	27	29	38	13	19	24	19	19	30	309
over 25 years	168	183	134	146	159	129	237	123	139	141	115	118	156	1,948
Sex														
Men	157	166	152	149	147	173	219	116	99	127	90	102	135	1,832
Women	88	99	85	72	92	111	122	63	81	89	72	75	105	1,154

Communes: (1) Montfaucon, Viffort, Venteuil, Châtillon, Dammard, Saint-Aubin; (2) Nesles, Nogentel, Etampes.
Number attending: 2,984.
Average per telecast: 239.

IV. Plan and guide for discussion of the different types of telecast

Discussions in the tele-clubs should be conducted so as to avoid disjointed chattering and didactic expressions of opinion. The leader should encourage the active participation of his audience by making use of a few questions suited both to the special features of the programme and to his audience's capacity for self-expression. We give below, as an example, a few of the questions used according to the needs of the moment, by the rural tele-clubs in the Aisne.

CINEMA PROGRAMMES

Feature Films

To find out the reaction to the pace of the film: Did you think the film too long? Too short? Neither too long? Nor too short? What were the most interesting parts? The least interesting? Why in your opinion:

1. Did you like it (or dislike it) mainly because you thought the story (subject) true? or not true?
2. Did you like it (or dislike it) mainly because the story pleased you? failed to please you?
3. Did you like it (or dislike it) because the actor or actress was good-looking and appealed to you? did not appeal, or was ill-favoured?
4. Did you like it (or dislike it) because it was well acted? or badly acted?
5. Did you like it (or dislike it) because the scenery appealed *(or did not appeal) to you?* or the sets?
6. Other reasons.

Shorts

To find out whether the public is capable of appreciating the documentary, not as a form belonging to an inferior or accessory class, but as one that can have qualities equivalent to those of a feature (do not forget that *good* documentaries are just as much "works of art" as are features): Ask the same questions as for features but leave out those concerning the actors.

In the case of live, dramatic documentaries, in which the facts are presented *as seen through* the life and feelings of an individual, all the questions may be asked, sometimes even those concerning the actors.

Additional question: Did this film make you want to see for

yourself the place or social milieu depicted? Are you satisfied with simply having seen the film? More precisely: if you had a chance of going to see for yourself the place or social milieu depicted, would you take the trouble to do so? or are your recollections of the film sufficient for you?

Other remarks.

VARIETY PROGRAMMES

To find out if the pace is important, if it is enough that the hours follow one another rapidly, or if elaborate sets are necessary; also how the different turns, subjects, commentator's methods, etc., compare in quality.

1. What are the turns that interested you most? and least? (songs, circus, acrobats, etc.).
2. Why ? First note "spontaneous" replies ... Then, more precisely: Is it mainly because of the kind of turn (circus, game, etc.)? or not? Is it mainly because of the subject, story, background, etc.? or not? Is it mainly because of the acting? or not? Is it mainly because of the commentator's methods? or not? (Try to get clear replies, typical adjectives.)
3. As a contribution to a comparative study of the different ways of planning variety shows, ask giving precise examples, the foregoing questions (1 and 2) in the following form : Do you prefer this, or that? Why? For example, do you prefer so and so's acting in the "Trente-six chandelles" programme to day, or so and so's in "Place au théâtre"?

OUTSIDE TELECASTS AND COMMENTARIES

This is a class of programme which could be put on in a great variety of ways and act as a live study of the natural and human environment.

In addition to the usual questions (What qualities, etc.? What are the parts which, etc.?) you should draw attention to the way in which the different items in the programme have been put together. Should some items be longer? or shorter? What changes would you wish to see in: the actual pictures? the commentary? the interview? What do you think of the reporter's *appearances* in this picture? Do we see too much of him? Do we see too little of him? Which are the words, sentences, ideas, you have remembered in the commentary or the interview?

Are they easy to understand? Do they serve some useful purpose (cooking, dress-making etc.)?
1. Who could repeat what has just been shown?
2. With reference to earlier programmes; is there anybody who has followed the practical advice given in such and such a programme? examples?

PROGRAMME ON READING ("Lectures pour tous")

The announcer uses a great variety of methods to introduce all sorts of books: Which books and methods arouse most interest, and why? Literary works, adventure stories, explorers' accounts, etc. (interview with the author, film projection, reading aloud, etc.)?

Do not forget to have the methods and books which have created most interest properly defined—and the same for those which have created least interest. Insist on the *reason* why, etc.

V. Tables based on questions concerning the cultural possibilities of telecasts

TABLE A

QUESTION: *In the various categories of programmes enumerated above (films, variety shows, theatre, news, etc.), mention some programmes which made a very good impression on you, and some which made a very bad one. Try to explain why.*

FILMS

Total number of persons replying: 144/225; 65 replied to both questions, 71 to the question about a good impression, 8 to the question about a bad impression.

Good impression: 108 films mentioned 403 times by 131 persons.

Bad impression: 34 films mentioned 114 times by 73 persons.

Realistic films and non-realistic films [1]
Good impression: (a) 61 per cent of the total population—136 persons mention realistic films 246 times; (b) 53 per cent

1. Realistic films are those which give a faithful picture of social or psychological situations, e.g. "La bataille du rail", "Jour de fête",

of the total population—119 persons mention non-realistic films 157 times.

Bad impression: 27 persons mention one realistic film; 6 persons mention 2 realistic films; 41 persons mention one non-realistic film; 6 persons mention 3 non-realistic films.

List of films which made a good or a bad impression, and which were mentioned at least eight times

Good impression: "La bataille du rail" (26 mentions), "Rendez-vous de juillet" (15), "L'éternel retour" (15), "Casabianca" (15), "Manon" (13), "Jour de fête" (13), "Symphonie pastorale" (12), "Signal rouge" (12), "Fabiola" (10), "Premières armes" (10), "La Marie du port" (10), "Claudine à l'école" (9), "La cage aux rossignols" (9), "Allemagne année zéro" (9), "L'école buissonnière" (8), "Le silence de la mer" (8), "Le voyageur sans bagages" (8).

Bad impression: "Flamenco" (11 mentions), "Course de taureaux" (10), cowboy and gangster films (9), "La beauté du diable" (8), "En remontant les Champs-Elysées" (8). A special case was "Les amants de Vérone", which was mentioned 19 times as the one which gave the worst impression. The showing was marred by a technical break-down (a reason mentioned by everyone): detailed information shows that televiewers pay more attention to the technical quality of the programme, i.e. the televised transmission of the film, than to the quality of the film itself.

VARIETY SHOWS

Number of replies received

Best impression: the programmes mentioned most often received 75 votes. There were 283 mentions in all.

Worst impression: practically no answers. There were 33 mentions in all, and the highest number of unfavourable votes obtained by any telecast was 6.

List of programmes

Good impression: "Le cirque" (75 mentions), "Le music-hall du mercredi" (75), "Trente-six chandelles" (63), "Les Chesterfollies" (19). All the variety programmes were mentioned 14 times; miscellaneous mentioned 17 times.

Bad impression: "Trente-six chandelles" (6 mentions), "Joyaux de Paris" (3), miscellaneous (24).

PLAYS

Total number of persons replying: 94. Best impression 91 (best

---

"Claudine à l'école" etc. Non-realistic films are those which seek to create an imaginary world, or give a distorted picture of reality, e.g. "L'éternel retour", "Fabiola", most westerns, etc.

impression only: 69). Worst impression 25 (worst impression only 3).

Plays cited
Best impression (232 mentions): "Volpone" (Ben Jonson and Jules Romains) (44 mentions), "Le don d'Adèle" (34), "Adrienne Mesurat" (from the novel by J. Green) (15), "L'annonce faite à Marie" (P. Claudel) (15), "Cendrillon" (14), "La maison du chat qui pelote" (from the novel by Balzac) (14), "Liliom" (Molnar) (9), miscellaneous (92).

Worst impression (62 mentions): "Ce que m'a dit le vent d'est" (15 mentions), "L'invitation au Château" (J. Anouilh) (10), "Liliom" (6), "Capitaine Alcindor" (5), miscellaneous (26).

NEWS AND OUTSIDE TELECASTS

Total number of persons replying: 139. Best impression 135 (best impression only 95). Worst impression 44 (worst impression only 4). Both best and worst impression 40.

Content of replies
Best impression: Coronation of the Queen of England, 92 votes or 41% of viewers; "Tour de France", 45 votes or 20% of viewers; "Le Journal télévisé", 37 votes or 16.4% of viewers; "Etat d'urgence", 27 votes or 12% of viewers; election of the President of the Republic, 20 votes or 9% of viewers.

Worst impression: Election of the President of the Republic, mentioned 14 times; outside telecast on the Saclay laboratory, mentioned 12 times; outside telecast on Orly, mentioned 6 times; film telecast "Reflets de Cannes" mentioned 5 times; miscellaneous telecasts received 14 votes.

Under the heading good impressions, 61 persons, or 27% of the population questioned, approved of news or outside telecast programmes other than those enumerated above; 77 persons, or 34% of the total population, mentioned sport telecasts other than the "Tour de France" (six-day bicycle race), boxing matches, all-in wrestling matches.

TABLE B

QUESTION 1: *Are there any programmes which you liked at the beginning and have now ceased to like, or like less than you did?*

Number of persons replying: 38.

Programmes mentioned: 17 programmes, 46 mentions; 3 programmes, 5 or more mentions.

Variety shows (14 mentions); "Trente-six chandelles" (9); "Cirque" (5); "Etat d'urgence" (13 after the 6th, 7th and 11th telecasts); miscellaneous telecasts (19).

QUESTION 2: *Are there any programmes which you did not like at the beginning but which you now like?*

Number of persons replying: 48.

Programmes mentioned: Variety shows (32 mentions), "Le music-hall du mercredi" (12), "Trente-six chandelles" (11), "Le cirque" (9), plays (7), "Lectures pour tous" (5).

TABLE C

QUESTION 1: *Do you feel that television programmes have developed certain of your interests, or awakened new ones? Give examples.*

Total number of persons replying: 27.

Programmes mentioned and interests developed: Sport (12 mentions)—all-in wrestling, winter sports, cycling; plays (7); travel (5)—"I used not to care about travel, now I should like to travel"; "Le Magazine féminin" (fewer than 5)—"The desire to dress better, and to have a nice house" (a farm girl, aged 20).

In all, 11 telecasts or types of telecast were mentioned 40 times.

QUESTION 2: *Do you consider that television programmes have added to your knowledge or improved your education? Give examples.*

Total number of persons replying: 58.

Programmes mentioned and new knowledge acquired: Geographical information imparted by programmes about foreign countries, near or far (31 mentions). Programmes: "Magazine des explorateurs", "Voyage sans passeport" ("I saw things I'd never seen before—the sea, the alpine pastures." "The Finns look like us; I used to think they looked like the Chinese").

Scientific information (18 mentions). Programmes: "Le club des inventeurs", "Visite à Saclay", "La vie du Dr. Laënnec".

Information on rural problems (9 mentions). Programme: "Etat d'urgence".

Practical information (8 mentions). Programmes: "Le magazine féminin", "A chacun son métier", "Cours de danse".

Miscellaneous (13 mentions).

All in all, 13 programmes or types of programme were mentioned 75 times; and there were 6 general mentions ("all the programmes") making a total of 81.

QUESTION 3: *Has television afforded you any practical examples*

or advice which you have followed in your everyday life? If so, which programmes? And with what results?

Total number of persons replying: 33.

Programmes and results mentioned: "Le magasine féminin", "Les recettes de M. X." (24 mentions)—advice on dress making and cookery recipes; "Le club des inventeurs" (3)—advice on odd jobbing. Televising of films and plays has led people to read classical novels and plays (7). Examples given: "Clochemerle", G. Chevalier (young farmer); "Le silence de la mer", Vercors (office worker); "Fabiola" (farm-girl); "Le Paradis de Satan" (farm-girl); classical plays (an office worker).

Miscellaneous (7 mentions): "I would have read books if I could have afforded to" (3 mentions); "I spend a lot of my spare time viewing television" (3 mentions).

In all, setting aside conditional or negative replies, there were 46 mentions of 12 programmes or types of programme, dealing with some half-dozen activities (housekeeping, reading, gardening, odd-jobbing, travel, dancing).

TABLE D

QUESTION 1: *Name the films you would like to see again on television.*[1]

List of films named: "Don Camillo" (25 mentions), the Pagnol films (14), "La grande illusion" (13), "Les vacances de M. Hulot" (10), "Le signal rouge" (9), "La bataille du rail" (8), "Belles de nuit" (8). "Le Père Tranquille", "Les Amants de Vérone", "La dernière étape", "La Cage aux rossignols", "Le Blé en herbe", "Le Rideau cramoisi", "Les Trois Mousquetaires", "Jour de Fête", "L'éternel retour", "Le salaire de la peur" (fewer than 8 mentions). "La Symphonie pastorale", "La Marie du port", "La Nuit est mon Royaume", "30 secondes sur Tokyo", "Limelight", "Les Visiteurs du soir", "Rome ville ouverte", "Rendez-vous de juillet", etc.

In all, 136 titles (including 4 collective titles such as "the Pagnol films", "gay films", "realistic films") were mentioned 336 times.

QUESTION 2: *Would you like a repeat of other programmes you liked? If so, which ones?*

Number of persons replying: 70.

1. Replies to another question relating to films which were in fact seen again, either on television or in the cinema, are similar to those indicated in Table A under the title "Good impression". Therefore they are not listed here.

List of programmes mentioned: Variety programmes (total number of mentions, 75)—"Plaque tournante" (16), "Trente-six chandelles" (12), "Music-hall du mercredi" (12), "Le Cirque" (8), "Joyaux de Paris" (5), miscellaneous (12).

Plays (total number of mentions, 12). Since no play was mentioned more than twice, we decided that it was unnecessary to give details of the wishes expressed.

News and outside telecasts (total number of mentions, 34): Sport commentaries (16), reports on social questions (11), miscellaneous (7).

Two other programmes, "Le magazine féminin" and "Le Club des explorateurs", received one mention each.

Six persons simply expressed a desire for "change".

In all, 70 persons made 119 mentions of 31 programmes by name, 1 mention of a particular type of programme (sport commentaries) and 6 expressed a desire for change.

TABLE E

QUESTION 1: *Are there any subjects not included in the programmes on which you would like telecasts for relaxation or amusement?*

Number of persons replying: 63.

Subjects or types of programme mentioned: Films (19 mentions) —amusing, light, gay (11), new (6), miscellaneous (2); sport (16); music (14); variety shows, theatre (6); miscellaneous (7); negative replies ("no", "O.K.") (4).

In all, 62 suggestions for changes, and 4 "conservative" replies.

QUESTION 2: *Are there any subjects not included in the programmes on which you would like telecasts for your information?*

Number of persons replying: 47.

Subjects or types of programme mentioned: 52 suggestions. News (31 mentions)—including 12 suggesting live telecasts of the debates in the National Assembly; sport (5); the arts (5); miscellaneous (11).

QUESTION 3: *Are there any subjects not included in the programmes on which you would like telecasts in order to increase your practical knowledge and help you in your trade or occupation or in the home?*

Number of persons replying: 17.

Subject mentioned: 55 mentions. Advice on trades or occupations (9), programmes on agricultural techniques (44), miscellaneous (2).

Question 4: *Are there any subjects not included in the programmes on which you would like telecasts for the benefit of your general education?*

Number of persons replying: 11.

Programmes requested: Classical works, outside telecasts and commentaries, a little political economy, expansion of the "Magazine des Explorateurs", telecasts on art, documentaries on geographical and industrial subjects.

Negative replies: 2.

Question 5: *Are they any subjects not included in the programmes on which you would like telecasts in order to obtain information on the foremost discoveries of science, famous films, plays and books, and the most important works of art in museums?*

Number of persons replying: 16.

Subjects and programmes mentioned: Medical questions (5 mentions); outside telecasts—like those on Orly or Saclay, but shorter, on barrages, the Paris Métro (4); miscellaneous (3); negative replies (4).

Question 6: In order to complete this information which—though fragmentary—indicates certain interesting trends, we questioned televiewers on the following point: *Which programmes, subjects and modes of presentation would you like discontinued?*

Once again there were very few replies—which is natural since as we know, the tele-club audiences as a whole, like the television programmes. Here again, the figures given below are merely indicative.

Number of persons replying: 79.

Programmes, subjects or modes of presentation disliked: "Pièces à conviction" (15 mentions), "Lectures pour tous" (13), "Le Télé-feuilleton" (5), "Le Magazine féminin" (5), "Le Magazine du temps passé" (4), programmes on art—because not in colour (4), miscellaneous (15).

A total of 61 replies indicating dislike of 16 programmes or types of programme.

Modes of presentation: Discussions, talks, etc. (13 mentions),

interludes (9), no criticism (8), the announcer looked sloppy, was smoking a pipe, etc. (8).

TABLE F

QUESTION 1: *What types of programme do you or would you prefer for relaxation and amusement?*

Number of persons replying: 168.

Programmes mentioned: Variety shows (total mentions, 214): "Trente-six chandelles" (52 mentions), "Music-hall du mercredi" (62), "Cirque" (63), variety shows in general (26), miscellaneous ("Joie de vivre", "Joyaux de Paris", etc.) (11).

Cinema (total mentions, 50): "A vous de juger" (2), films (36), amusing or gay films ("We don't have much to make us laugh) (7), "Télé-feuilleton" (4), "La vie des animaux" (1).

Plays: "A good play" (22 mentions).

Sport (12 mentions).

"Voyage sans passeport" (2 mentions).

Miscellaneous (10 mentions).

A total of 310 mentions of 20 programmes or types of programme.

QUESTION 2: *What types of programme do you or would you prefer in order to acquire information?*

Number of persons replying: 142.

Programmes or types of programmes mentioned (a total of 194): "Le Journal télévisé" (107 mentions), outside telecasts and commentaries (25), programmes on foreign countries ("Voyage sans passeport", "Magazine des Explorateurs") (20), dans les colonies (12), "Le Magazine féminin" (6), Literary programmes (5), "Magazine du temps passé" (4), sport telecasts (3), documentary telecasts (3), "Etat d'urgence" (3), miscellaneous (6).

A total of 194 mentions of 18 programmes or types of programme.

Mentions of outside telecasts and commentaries are sometimes accompanied by comments such as "Provided it's not too long", "Provided there are not too many figures".

QUESTION 3: *What types of programme do you or would you prefer in order to add to your practical knowledge so as to help you in your trade or occupation, in your home life or in your spare-time occupations?*

Number of persons replying: 104.

Programmes or types of programme mentioned (120 mentions of programmes or types of programme): Telecasts on household topics (60), "Club des inventeurs" (17), documentary travel programmes (12), outside telecasts and commentaries in general (visit to ...) (11), documentary films (5), programmes on vocational guidance (5), miscellaneous (10).

Of the "useful" programmes, the largest number of votes went to the "Magazine féminin", despite the fact that it is generally much criticized. Half the votes obtained by this programme came from men.

QUESTION 4: *What types of programme do you or would you choose in order to improve your general education?*

Number of persons replying: 62.

Programmes or types of programme mentioned: Documentary travel programmes (42 mentions), outside telecasts and commentaries (13). Other telecasts (fewer than 10 mentions): Literary (7), scientific (5), technical (5), "Etat d'urgence" (4), miscellaneous (14).

A total of 90 mentions of 19 programmes or types of programme. About half the mentions (42 out of 90) refer to travel abroad.

QUESTION 5: *What type of programme do you or would you prefer in order to obtain information on the foremost discoveries of science, famous films, plays and books, and the most important works of art in museums?*

Number of persons replying: 61.

Programmes or types of programme mentioned: Films (28 mentions), outside telecasts or commentaries, and visits (20), documentary travel programmes (11), literary programmes (6), "Magazine du temps passé" (6), scientific programmes (5), "Club des inventeurs" (5), "Joyaux de Paris" (5), "Reflets de Paris" (5).

A total of 91 mentions of 18 programmes or types of programme. The cinema occupies a prominent place, with 24 mentions; as do outside telecasts and commentaries, with 20. Those persons who mention "Le Club des inventeurs" misunderstood the question, unless they suppose that this programme might serve as an introduction to science.

VI. Notes on the production and broadcasting of the "Etat d'urgence" series

DAYS AND TIMES OF TRANSMISSION

As we have seen, tele-clubs were unable to follow the "La Vie à la Campagne" series, because of the day and time chosen for transmission (Sunday, first at midday and, subsequently, at 6 p.m.). Since the "Etat d'urgence" series was specially intended for tele-clubs, the best time for transmission was Wednesday or Saturday or Sunday evening. As regards the time of day, there appeared to be two alternatives either early in the evening (immediately after the "Journal Télévisé", viz, 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m.), or towards the end of the evening (10.15 p.m. to 10.45 p.m.), just before the second "Journal" transmission. There were arguments for and against both times, and it was difficult to choose between them. Country people go to bed early and get up early; and a programme specially addressed to them has to be planned accordingly. But there was another point: the main purpose of the programme was to encourage discussion on the subjects and problems handled, and the members of tele-clubs, some of whom have to come a long way to join in the group viewing of a programme, object to its being interrupted half-way through for discussion of some of the items composing it. "We want to see it all", they say. If "Etat d'urgence" came at the beginning of the evening programme, therefore, the discussion might drop out altogether, since the group cannot be re-assembled several days later simply to discuss a subject the details of which are already beginning to fade from people's minds. Conversely, if "Etat d'urgence" came at the end of the programme, viewers would probably be put off because they were feeling sleepy. In the end, we decided on the later period, since the RTF wanted to avoid subjecting the whole body of their viewers, at the beginning of the evening, to a special programme intended mainly for a limited public.

The choice of day also gave rise to protracted discussions with the television authorities. In the end, despite the doubts voiced by the leaders of the tele-clubs, the RTF decided on Thursday. The Programme Department tried to arrange for the rural transmission to be preceded by light entertainment (circus, music-hall or variety shows), in order to strike a balance, in the evening's programme, between instruction and entertainment.

Thus the first seven transmissions were given on Thursdays. As already stated, however, tele-clubs are in the habit of organizing their meetings on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday; and, despite the attraction of "Etat d'urgence", the leaders had

difficulty in getting members to attend four evenings a week.

Télévision Française finally agreed to change the day, and from the eighth transmission onwards, "Etat d'urgence", was given on Wednesdays.

BUDGET

The breakdown of the expenses directly incurred by the production of the 13 telecasts in the "Etat d'urgence" series is as follows: Directors and producers, 1,725,000 francs; fees of participants (filmed and live items), 841,622; film stock, 208,000; shooting costs: transport, 513,000; subsistence allowance and special journeys, 862,814; a total of 4,150,436 francs.

Unesco's contribution amounted to 1,300,000 francs.

In addition to these direct expenses, there were also certain invisible expenses, e.g. the cost of the use of the studio and sets, editing and laboratory costs, etc.

EQUIPMENT

For shooting films, the production team had the following equipment : a 16 mm Pathé Webe camera; a spare camera, ETM; light electrical equipment; 200 m of electric cable; 2 2kW projectors, 4 1kW projectors, 10 500 W projectors, 4 250 W projectors, 12 floods; 250 W, unlimited quantity of 16 mm film stock.

One of the most difficult problems was that of lighting. Since scarcely any farm work is done in October (apart from a little ploughing), the producers decided to concentrate very largely on indoor scenes; this moreover, was in accordance with the general trend of the programmes, which dealt with the more directly human side of rural problems. In most of the villages selected, the transformers were inadequate, being incapable of furnishing the amperage necessary to give the normal lighting for shooting. The lack of a self-contained generator set was felt acutely and on several occasions the team only succeeded by cutting off completely the locality's electrical supply, and even so obtained barely sufficient power for filming indoor scenes. Once the villagers had satisfied their natural curiosity about the technicians engaged on making the films and come to the conclusion that "those television chaps are not just idle hounds" and that "they have a hell of a job to do" they invariably went to any lengths to help, and agreed good-naturedly to go without lights while they were "shooting their bit".

The production timetable was as follows: 8 to 10 days were spent in exploring the location and working out the shooting script on the basis of a detailed schedule; 30 full days were devoted to shooting.

The exposed film was sent at the end of every week to the Télévision Française studios for developing: on Saturday afternoons it was previewed by the director and the producer and "pre-edited".

From 10 to 15 days were required, after shooting, for doing the final editing, adding the sound (on tape) to the films used in the first two transmissions, and completing the production of the first transmission (live items and films).

Subsequently, the weekly timetable was as follows: 2 days for the final editing of the films to be used for the telecast; 1 day for adding the sound; 2 days for preparing the "live" items; 1 day for rehearsing the whole.

VII. Summary of reasons for indifference or opposition to modernization

Table A. REASONS FOR THE INDIFFERENCE OR HOSTILITY OF SMALL FARMERS TO THE MODERNIZATION OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

Type of equipment	*Economic obstacles*	*Geographical obstacles*	*Attitudes of indifference or hostility to progress*	*Asocial or anti-social attitudes*	*Miscellaneous*	*Total*
Individual equipment . . .	86	8	109	0	29	232
Group equipment A (*agricultural*).	26	0	90	85	43	244
Group equipment B (cultural). .	8	13	43	5	20	89
Total number of reasons . .	120	21	242	90	92	565
Overall figure	141		332		92	565

Table B. REASONS FOR THE INDIFFERENCE OR HOSTILITY OF THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE TO THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT

Type of equipment	*Economic obstacles*	*Geographical obstacles*	*Attitudes of indifference or hostility to progress*	*Asocial or anti-social attitudes*	*Miscellaneous*	*Total*
Public equipment	139	77	139	37	6	398
Domestic equipment	233	0	176	0	28	437
Total reasons	372	77	315	37	34	835
Overall figure	449		352		34	835

Table C. REASONS FOR INDIFFERENCE OR OPPOSITION OF SMALL FARMERS TO MODERNIZATION OF INDIVIDUAL AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT [1]

Description of equipment	*Financial obstacles*	*Geographical obstacles*	*Indifference or attitudes of hostility to progress*	*Miscel-laneous*
Renovation of building and modern equipment	52: No money, no credit, would cost too much, farm too small, too little land.		30: It's all right as it is.	29 replies
Separator	24: I sell the milk and buy the butter. 1: There is always the co-operative society.			
Tractor	6: Yes, but I have no money.	8: The soil is too heavy.	Bad for the soil.	
Milking machine	3: Yes, but later on.		6: Injures the cows.	
Artificial insemination			28: I have a bull. My neighbour has a bull.	
Account books			34: Of no interest, useless, impossible. 3: I keep the accounts in my head.	
Farm operations schedule			6: I haven't the time.	
Special planning room			2: I am too old.	
	86	8	109	29

1. The figures indicate the number of mentions.

Table D. REASONS FOR INDIFFERENCE OR OPPOSITION OF SMALL FARMERS TO GROUP AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

Description of equipment	*Financial obstacles*	*Geographical obstacles*	*Indifference or attitudes of hostility to progress*	*Asocial or anti-social attitudes*	*Miscellaneous*
1. *Professional*					
Co-operative societies in general	7: No money or credit. 4: Not a paying proposition. 10: There are some further off.		40: Things are quite all right as they are. 33: Of no interest, harmful.		43 replies.
Co-operative oven	2: Too late.				
Co-operative society for hire of agricultural machinery				Contractor comes round. 17: No feeling of solidarity. 5: Don't believe in them. 10: Wouldn't work in our part of the world. 28: We each have our own equipment; it is better that each of us should have his own equipment. 6: I like to use my own things.	
Co-operative silo	3: There are not enough of us. I sell my corn.	3: Holdings too small.			
Collective washing machines			17: Unhygienic.	19: We prefer to wash at home.	
Total	26	3	90	85	43

2. *Cultural*					
Clubs for sparetime activities		7: There are some in town.			20 replies.
Agricultural courses for adults	2: Teachers.		1: Not here. . . . "One can't learn that in books".	5: No will to work together.	
Young Farmers Clubs			3: Not for me. 6: Things are all right as they are. 11: That's the young people's business. 20: Of no interest; useless; "young people prefer to pub". "What is the point of having a club."		
Commission for land re-distribution	1: Costs a lot. 5: I should lose on it.	6: Holdings too small. "Too many vineyards or shepherds".	2: Its nothing but communism.		
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	8	13	43	5	20

Table E. REASONS FOR INDIFFERENCE OR OPPOSITION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS OF THE COMMUNE

Description of installations	*Financial obstacles*	*Geographical obstacles*	*Indifference or attitudes of hostility to progress*	*Asocial or anti-social attitudes*	*Miscellaneous*
Wash houses	4: No water.	59: Commune is too scattered.	The stream passes in front of the house.		6 replies.
Public baths	30: Village is too small (impossibe to pay off cost of installing).	18: One can always go to town. There are some not far away.	49: Things are all right as they are. 4: It wouldn't work. "I've lived dirty long enough and I'm not going to change now".	4: "I have one. Let the others do the best they can." 14: I wash at home.	
Water supply	16: Too expensive.				
Drainage system	26: Yes, but there is no money.		41: Of no interest, useless, impossible.		
General			No opinion, 20: "I haven't thought about it".		
Sports ground	42: Not enough young people.		7: I know nothing about sport. 18: I don't play games.	9: There is no sports club.	
Village hall	12: There are not enough of us.				
Total	130	77	139	27	6

Table F. REASONS FOR INDIFFERENCE OR OPPOSITION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO THE MODERNIZATION OF DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT

Description of equipment	*Financial obstacles*	*Indifference or attitudes of hostility to progress*	*Miscellaneous*
Dwelling house Repainting of house	44: "Yes but I haven't the money." "Yes, but I am waiting for the local authorities to do something about it." 43: "I'm only a tenant." "I'm not my own master." "The house does not belong to me." "Yes, but the owner won't have it."	80: "It's all right as it is."	19 replies.
Sewing machine	4: "I am alone."		
Butane gas cooker		2: "Danger of explosion."	
Interior drainage system		"I have the cesspit."	
Electric cooker	7: "We have no electricity." "Yes, but I'm waiting for the local authorities."	3: There are breakdowns.	
Washing machine	4: Very little linen. 5: No water.	5: "Washing machine washes badly." 9: "Washing machine wears out the linen." 13: "I don't like it." "I don't believe in it." "It's not yet perfect." 10: "Don't know."	
Central heating	29: "I have wood." 87: "Too expensive." 8: "No room." "I'm a tenant, I'm not my own master, I'm not in my own house." "The landlord won't have it."	22: "It's a luxury." "It's O.K. for Paris folk." "What's the use of it?" 32: I don't care about it. Useless.	
Total	231	176	19

VIII. General table showing acquisitions or improvements in domestic or public equipment regarded as desirable in the event of an increase in personal or communal income

DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT

Type	*Would like to be able to spend*		
	frs. 20,000	*frs. 50,000*	*frs. 500,000*
	%	%	%
Clothing, linen	29.5	11.8	—
Alterations to the house, repairs, furniture, painting, re-facing, etc.	13.6	16.8	18
Household appliances	8.5	18.7	—
Work tools (500,000: plant)	6.2	9.6	9.3
Bicycle (50,000: motorized bicycle; 500,000: motor car)	4.8	19.3	17.9
Wireless or television	4.4	3.1	—
Savings, investments	3.5	3.8	5.7
Debt redemption	3.1	2.2	2.2
Travel and holidays	2.2	3.8	1.1
Water laid on	1.3	3.5	3.7
Medical attention	0.4	—	—
Purchase of land	—	—	5.2
Purchase of a house	—	—	14.6
Setting up for oneself	—	—	1.9
Purchase of tractor	—	—	0.3
Marriage	—	—	1.1
Study	—	—	1.1
Bequests, gifts	—	—	1.1
Miscellaneous	22.5	7.4	16.8
	100	100	100
Number of replies received	225	230	268

PUBLIC EQUIPMENT

Type	*Preference*
	%
Water Supply	21
Road and bridge building	21.5
Renovation of the school	11
Repairs to church	4
Upkeep of public buildings	6.4
Economic equipment of the commune	2
Recreational facilities	10
Sewerage	17
Poor relief	0.8
Fire-fighting	0.5
Miscellaneous	5.3
	100
	or 358 replies.

ACQUISITIONS OR IMPROVEMENTS IN DOMESTIC OR PUBLIC EQUIPMENT REGARDED AS DESIRABLE IN THE EVENT OF AN INCREASE IN PERSONAL OR COMMUNAL INCOME (before the "Etat d'Urgence" broadcasts)

	Occupation			*Sex*		*Age*			
	Small farmers	Labourers	Non manual workers	Men	Women	14-21	22-25	26-39	40 +
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT									
Question A									
Clothing, linen	24.5	42	20	23.5	43	42	46	35	19
Alterations to the home, repairs, furniture, painting, re-facing, etc.	16	12	15	18.2	1.5	—	18	8.7	20
Household appliances	7	9	9	7	12	6.5	9	10	8.7
Work tools	18	2	—	9	—	—	—	4.5	9.5
Bicycle	1.6	1	8	5.1	1.6	9.7	—	4.5	5.2
Wireless or television	3.3	5	5	3.8	6.4	16	9	1.4	2.6
Savings, investments	1.6	5	5	4.4	1.5	6.5	—	1.4	4.9
Debt redemption	7	1	2	2.5	3	—	—	6	2.6
Travel and holidays	—	2	5	3	—	3.3	—	2.9	1.7
Water laid on	—	4	1	1.9	—	—	—	2.6	0.9
Medical attention	—	1	—	0.6	—	—	—	—	0.9
Miscellaneous	21	16	30	21	28	16	18	23	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of replies received	61	58	56	158	65	31	11	69	115
Question B									
Clothing, linen	7.7	19	9.2	10	17	3.3	27	9.5	14
Alterations to house, repairs, furniture, painting, re-facing, etc.	23.7	10.4	18.4	16.5	16.9	13	9	14.9	19.9
Household appliances	12.3	17.1	21.8	16	26	23	18	24	14

Work tools	18.4	3.5	5.7	11	6.5	6.7	—	6.7	15
Motorized bicycle, scooter	10.7	29.3	18.4	19	20	57	18	17	11
Wireless or television	—	8.6	2.3	3.7	1.5	—	18	1.3	3.5
Savings, investments	4.5	—	6.9	5	1.5	3.7	—	1.3	6
Debt redemption	6	—	1.2	2.5	—	—	—	5.4	0.9
Travel and holidays	—	6.9	4.6	4.3	3	—	10	6.7	2.6
Water laid on	6	3.5	2.3	4.1	1.5	—	—	6.7	2.6
Miscellaneous	10	1.7	9.2	8	6.1	—	—	6.5	10.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of replies received	231	231	231	163	65	30	11	74	115
Question C									
Alterations to house repairs, furniture, painting, re-facing, etc.	14	21.1	17	19	15	6.3	38.5	17	19
Equipment, work, tools	21	6.1	4	12	3.7	6.3	7.7	13.6	7.8
Motorcar	16	15.1	19	15	22	31	7.7	20	13.4
Savings, investments	9	3.1	6	6	5	6.3	—	1.2	8.5
Debt redemption	4	—	3	2.2	1.2	—	—	5	1.4
Holidays, travel	1.3	1.5	—	1.6	—	3.6	—	2.5	—
Sewerage	1.3	1.5	5	4.3	2.5	3.1	—	2.5	5
Purchase of land	8	1.5	5	4.3	7.4	—	—	3.7	7.8
Purchase of a house	5.6	26	14	14	16	34	7.7	16	10
Setting up on one's own account	—	1.5	4	2.2	1.5	—	—	1.2	2.8
Purchase of a tractor	1.3		—	0.5	—	—	—	—	0.7
Marriage	2.6	1.5	—	1.6	—	—	15.2	1.3	—
Studies	2.6	1.5	—	1.1	1.2	—	—	—	2.1
Bequests, gifts	1.3	1.5	3	1.6	2.5	—	—	—	3.5
Miscellaneous	12	18.1	20	14.6	22	9.4	23.2	16	18
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of replies received	76	66	100	185	81	32	13	81	141

Question A (method no. 2): *If you had 20,000 francs more income in 1954, what would you do with it?*
Question B: *If you had 50,000 francs more income in 1954, what would you do with it?*
Question C: *If you had 500,000 francs more income in 1954, what would you do with it?*

	Occupation			Sex		Age			
	Small farmers	Labourers	Non manual workers	Men	Women	14-21	22-25	26-39	40 +
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
PUBLIC EQUIPMENT									
Question D									
Water supply	13.2	29	22.4	24	15.1	32	12	22	20
Road and bridge building	30	16.7	18	22	21.1	16	28	20	23
Renovation of the school	14.2	5.5	12.6	8.2	19.1	10	22	9.3	11
Repairs to church	3	3.3	3.7	1.5	10.1	—	5.6	4	4.6
Upkeep of public buildings	6.6	5.5	6.7	5.5	9.1	—	5.4	7.4	7.5
Economic equipment of the commune	5.6	1.1	0.8	2.3	2.1	5	—	3	1.5
Recreational facilities	4.7	15.6	8.2	10.5	8.1	13	22	8.4	8.8
Sewerage	18	14.5	19.4	19	9.1	16	5	19.4	16.4
Poor relief	—	1.1	1.5	1.2	—	—	—	0.9	1
Fire-fighting	—	2.2	—	0.7	—	—	—	1.9	—
Miscellaneous	4.7	5.5	6.7	5.1	6.2	8	—	3.7	6.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of replies received	106	90	134	256	99	38	18	108	194

Question D (method no. 2): *If in 1954 the mayor had sufficient extra funds in his budget to allow him to do something big for the commune what would you advise him to do?*

Readers of *Television and Rural Adult Education* will be interested in another Unesco publication: **Television and Education in the United States,** a report, by Charles A. Siepmann, on experiments in the use of television for education. A general discussion of the place of television in mass communications precedes a description of the system of television broadcasting in the U.S.A. and the place of educational institutions in it.

Another Unesco publication: **Television, A World Survey** is the first comprehensive world survey of present television stations and plans for the future introduction of television in 45 countries and non-self-governing territories. Its **Supplement 1955** contains up-to-date information, as of February 1955, on the development of television in 58 countries and non-self-governing territories. It lists 570 television stations serving 42 million receivers, gives a brief description of programming in 38 countries and outlines plans to introduce television in 20 more countries.

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS: NATIONAL DISTRIBUTORS

ALGERIA : Editions de l'Empire, 28, rue Michelet, Algiers; ARGENTINA : Editorial Sudamericana S.A., Alsina 500, Buenos Aires; AUSTRIA : Wilhelm Frick Verlag, 27 Graben, Vienna I; BELGIUM : Librairie Encyclopédique, 7, rue du Luxembourg, Brussels IV; N.V. Standard-Boekhandel, Belgielei 151, Antwerp; BOLIVIA : Libreria Selecciones, Avenida Camacho 369, Casilla 972, La Paz; BRAZIL : Livraria Agir Editora, Rua México 98-B, Caixa Postal 3291, Rio de Janeiro; CAMBODIA : Librairie Albert Portail, 14, Avenue Boulloche, Phnom-Penh; CANADA : University of Toronto Press, Toronto; CEYLON : The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Lake House, P.O. Box 244, Colombo 1; CHILE : Libreria Universitaria, Alameda B. O'Higgins 1059, Santiago; CHINA : The World Book Co. Ltd., 99 Chungking South Road, Section 1, Taipeh, Taiwan (Formosa). COLOMBIA : Libreria Central, Carrera 6-A, No. 14-32, Bogota; COSTA RICA . Trejos Hermanos, Apartado 1313, San Jose; CUBA : Unesco Centro Regional en él Hemisfero Occidental, Calle 5 No. 306 Vedado, Havana; CYPRUS : M. E Constantinides, P. O. Box 473, Nicosia; CZECHOSLOVAKIA : Artia Ltd., 30 Ve Smeckach, Prague 2; DENMARK : Ejnar Munksgaard Ltd., 6 Nörregade, Copenhagen K; DOMINICAN REPUBLIC : Libreria Dominicana, Calle Mercedes 49, Apartado de correos 656, Ciudad Trujillo; ECUADOR : Libreria Cientifica, Luque 233, Casilla 362, Guayaquil; EGYPT : La Renaissance d'Egypte, 9 Sh Adly-Pasha, Cairo; ETHIOPIA : International Press Agency, P.O. Box 120, Addis Ababa; FINLAND : Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 2 Keskuskatu, Helsinki; FRANCE . Unesco Bookshop, 19, avenue Kléber, Paris-16e; FRENCH WEST INDIES : Librairie J. Bocage, rue Lavoir, Fort de France (Martinique); GERMANY : R. Oldenbourg K.G., Unesco-Vertrieb für Deutschland, Rosenheimerstrasse 145, Munich 8; GREECE : Librairie H. Kauffmann, 28, rue du Stade, Athens; HAITI : Librairie "A la Caravelle", 36, rue Roux, B.P. 111, Port-au-Prince; HONG KONG : Swindon Book Co., 25 Nathan Road, Kowloon; HUNGARY : Kultura, P.O. Box 149, Budapest 62; INDIA : Orient Longmans Ltd., Indian Mercantile Chamber, Nicol Road, Bombay 1; 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 13; 36a Mount Road, Madras 2; *Sub-depots* : Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House, New Delhi; Rajkamal Publications Ltd., Himalaya House, Hornby Road, Bombay 1; INDONESIA : G. C. T. Van Dorp & Co , Djalan Nusantara 22, Posttrommel 85, Jakarta; IRAN : Iranian National Commission for Unesco, Avenue du Musée, Teheran; IRAQ : Mackenzie's Bookshop, Baghdad; ISRAEL : Blumstein's Bookstores Ltd., 35 Allenby Road, P.O. Box 4101, Tel-Aviv; ITALY : Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni, Via Gino Capponi 26, Casella Postale 552, Florence; JAMAICA : Sangster's Book Room, 99 Harbour Street, Kingston; Knox Educational Services, Spaldings; JAPAN : Mazuren Co. Ltd., 6 Tori-Nichome, Nihonbashi, P.O. Box 605 Tokyo Central, Tokyo; JORDAN : Joseph I. Bahous & Co., Dar ul-Kutub, Salt Road, P.O. Box 66, Amman; KOREA : Korean National Commission for Unesco, Ministry of Education, Seoul; LEBANON : Librairie Universelle, Avenue des Français, Beirut; LIBERIA : J. Momolu Kamara, 69 Front & Gurlev Streets, Monrovia; LUXEMBOURG : Librairie Paul Bruck, 33, Grand-Rue, Luxembourg; MALAYAN FEDERATION AND SINGAPORE : Peter Chong & Co., P.O. Box 135, Singapore; MALTA : Sapienza's Library, 26 Kingsway, Valletta; MEXICO : Libreria y Ediciones Emilio Obregon, Avenida Juarez 30, Mexico D.F.; NETHERLANDS : N.V. Martinus Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague; NEW ZEALAND : Unesco Publications Centre, 100 Hackthorne Road, Christchurch; NIGERIA : C.M.S. Bookshop, P.O. Box 174, Lagos; NORWAY : A.S. Bokhjornet, Stortingsplass 7, Oslo; PAKISTAN : Ferozsons, Ltd., 60 The Mall, Lahore; Bunder Road, Karachi; 35 The Mall, Peshawar; PANAMA : Agencia Internacional de Publicaciones, Plaza de Arango No. 3, Apartado 2052, Panama, R.P.; PARAGUAY : Agencia de Librerias de Salvador Nizza, Calle Pte. Franco No. 39/43, Asuncion; PERU . Libreria Mejia Baca, Jiron Azangaro 722, Lima; PHILIPPINES : Philippine Education Co., 1104 Castillejos, Quiapo, Manila; PORTUGAL : Publicacoes Europa-America Ltda., Rua das Flores 45, 1, Lisbon; PUERTO RICO : Pan-American Book Co., San Juan 12; SPAIN : Libreria Cientifica Medinaceli, Duque de Medinaceli 4, Madrid; SURINAM : Radhakishun & Co. Ltd., (Book Dept.), Watermolenstraat 36, Paramaribo; SWEDEN : A/B C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm 16; SWITZERLAND : Europa Verlag,

5 Ramistrasse, Zurich; *Sub-depot.* Payot, 40, rue du Marché, Geneva; TANGIER . Paul Fekete, 2, rue Cook, Tangier; THAILAND : Suksapan Panit, Mansion 9, Rajdamnern Avenue, Bangkok; TUNISIA : Victor Boukhors, 4, rue Nocard, Tunis; TURKEY : Librairie Hachette, 469 Istiklal Caddesi, Beyoglu, Istanbul; UNION OF BURMA : Burma Educational Bookshop, 551-3 Merchant Street, P.O. Box 222, Rangoon; UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA : Van Schaik's Bookstore, Libri Building, Church Street, P.O. Box 724, Pretoria; UNITED KINGDOM : H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, London, S.E.1; UNITED STATES : Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.; URUGUAY : Unesco Centro de Cooperacion Cientifica para América Latina, Bulevar Artigas 1320-24, Montevideo; Oficina de Representacion de Editoriales, 18 de Julio, 1333, Montevideo; VENEZUELA : Libreria Villegas Venezolana, Av. Urdaneta-Esq. Las Ibarras, Edif. Riera, Apartado 2439, Caracas; VIET-NAM : Librairie Nouvelle Albert Portail, 185-193, rue Catinat, B.P. 283, Saigon; YUGOSLAVIA : Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27/11, Belgrade.

UNESCO BOOK COUPONS

Unesco Book Coupons can be used to purchase all books and periodicals of an educational, scientific or cultura character. For full information please write to: Unesco Coupon Office, 19 avenue Kléber, Paris-16e, France.

M. I. D. S. LIBRARY MADRAS.

[A] Price : $3.50; 21/-; 1,000 fr.